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ABSTRACT

This report evaluates the performance of three private agencies on the school desegregation process in Boston. The Citywide Educational Coalition organized and stimulated parents to publish a newsletter. Freedom House provided the only fully equipped information center which specifically supported black parents, students and agencies by answering telephone inquiries. The Massachusetts Advocacy Center interceded in school suspension cases. The report concludes that although these agencies were inconsistent in their aims and achievements, they were not superfluous. Without these groups, desegregation would still have been accomplished; however, services and support that should have been provided by governments and by the individual school systems in order to facilitate the transition, were ultimately assumed by these private groups. These agencies filled a void left by reluctant decision makers and administrators; softened resistance to integration by providing voices of moderation; gave voice to citizens' needs; and supported and aided pro-implementation casualties of the desegregation process. Included in this report are recommendations for the 1976-77 academic year. Basic to these recommendations is the need for government support and funding of the groups which promote desegregation. Extensive appendices to this report provide data on the evaluation process, the climate and events of desegregation, and the roles and activities of pro-implementation agencies.
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A Report To The
Massachusetts Committee on
Criminal Justice

The Impact of Three Community Organizations on School Desegregation in Boston, 1975 - 76:

Citywide Educational Coalition
Freedom House Information Center
Massachusetts Advocacy Center

July, 1976

by

Tahi Lani Mottl, Ph.D.

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INTRODUCTION

The following report is the evaluation of three private organizations, the Citywide Educational Coalition, Freedom House Information Center and the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, which operate in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, and, which were funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) as participants in the second year (Phase II) of Boston's public school desegration. This report is designed as a tool for setting policy and reaching decisions for the approaching academic year (1976-77). The report has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one establishes the social setting in which the three organizations carried out their work. The three following chapters represent the three community organizations. And the final chapter presents conclusions drawn about each organization, makes specific recommendations to the groups and about the desegregation process as a whole.

Evaluation Issues

During the 1975-1976 school year under Boston's Phase II desegregation plan, the three organizations, Citywide Educational Coalition, Freedom House Information Center, and Massachusetts Advocacy Center, undertook new or renewed activities to help ease the impact of school disruption and to stimulate the greater participation of community members in public school change.* Several questions arise about these organizations' activities, questions that are appropriate for evaluative assessment:

1. Did the three organizations do what they said they were going to do this year?

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*The three organizations received grants of different amounts from LEAA. CWEC received $113,000 for the year, Freedom House Information Center received $9,000, and MAC received $20,000. This affected the size of each group's undertaking for the 1975-76 school year.

2. Was each project necessary during Phase II? Or, were the projects superfluous, did they duplicate services available from other agencies?

3. How did the three organizations coordinate their activities with other groups in the city? To what extent was there a network of agencies providing services? and why?

Some specific issues arise in relation to each of the three organizations.

Citywide Educational Coalition. 1975-1976 was the second year that CWEC received LEAA funding. This school year, however, brought a considerable expansion of the organization and shifts in priorities from the facilitation of school peace and safety, to the arousal of educational issues through parent-organizing and the dissemination of information, to a focus on the technical assistance of new court-ordered school parent groups.

Thus, the researcher paid attention to the organization's field staff to judge their effectiveness as 1) resources to the community, 2) catalysts in the involvement of parents in pro-implementation activities. The researcher also devoted some attention to the change in organizational structure on April 1, 1976, and its impact on the project's functions. Finally, some attention was devoted to the effectiveness of CWEC as an information center.

Freedom House Information Center. The emergency phone lines at Freedom House operated primarily during the months following the opening of school in September 1975. By the time this evaluation began in January, 1976, the telephone rumor control function had slowed to a trickle. Most data, then, were retrospective.

Freedom House operates one of a number of pro-implementation, neighborhood rumor control centers in the city. The issue of duplication of services and the coordination and information exchange with other sources (such as City Hall), therefore becomes important.

Freedom House also functions as a center for a number of black community desegregation activities, including weekly open meetings of community agencies to discuss school issues. It is also important, then, to put the telephone rumor control aspect of the organization in the context of other Freedom House activities.

Massachusetts Advocacy Center. This project is somewhat unique in that one of its main goals for this year can be fairly precisely measured. The case advocacy aspect of the Center set as its goal, dealing with black student "push out" from Boston's public schools by providing para-legal advocacy services to suspended students. There are a number of issues of specific interest to the funding agency: 1) are black students in fact being suspended at a disproportionately high rate this school year; 2) has this project been effective in reaching a significant proportion of suspended students; 3) have the services provided by the project been effective in getting students back into school and keeping them there?

The Evaluation Process

The evaluation of the three desegregation projects employed three types of research methods and focused on two distinct levels. Research methods included interviews, field observations, and the examination and analysis of project and other documentary data. The evaluation focused first, at the microscopic level, on the individual projects under consideration, and on a macroscopic level, upon the city as a whole within which the projects exist.

Because hard data were not readily available from the organizations, because of the mid-year start of the evaluation and its short duration (from January to June, 1976), because of limited discretionary funds for the evaluation, and because of the terminal nature of the program grants, the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice viewed a research design which produced mainly qualitative data as appropriate for this evaluation effort.

The research methods employed in this study yield a picture of the events which occurred in the city of Boston from September 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976, and place the three LEAA-funded organizations in that perspective.*

*For a discussion of Evaluation Criteria, Research Methods and Charts of the Evaluation Process, see Appendix A.

CHAPTER I

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BOSTON, PHASE II

The Phase II Plan

"In light of the ample factual record and the precedents of the Supreme Court, we do not see how the court could have arrived at any other conclusion." Thus, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Boston school desegregation decision in December, 1974.

By January, 1975, federal Judge Arthur Garrity had before him dozens of suggestions and full proposals for his final desegregation plan for 1975-76. School Committee resistance to desegregation, a basis for the original federal desegregation order, persisted. A majority of Boston's school committee members were threatened with jail for contempt by the federal court that month after rejecting school department desegregation proposals. The school committee had taken on the judge. His decision not to jail them, which was seen as a victory, fueled the resistance. This pattern of decision-maker resistance to desegregation is an important factor in Boston's school integration process.

All of the desegregation plans and proposals for 1975-76 were remanded for assessment to four "masters" and two experts named by Garrity to recommend to him a final desegregation scheme. After eleven days of hearings, the masters found all of the plans inadequate and developed their own plan, which they submitted to the federal court in March, 1975. The plan called for eight local school districts and a city wide district of magnet schools, with racial ratios varying from 25 to 95 per cent, and the involvement of colleges, universities and business in upgrading the school system's curricula.

Later, the court modified the racial quotas to make them more uniform, but maintained the involvement of nonschool agencies and magnet programs. The Phase

II plan called for the busing of 21,000 out of a projected total of 84,913 students, 4,000 more students than 1974-75 (see map). Only relatively isolated East Boston was given a stay of one year from the desegregation order. All the rest of Boston's 161 schools were to be desegregated.

The Climate for School Desegregation

There were several important factors which created an unfavorable climate for Phase II school desegregation in Boston:

(1) Deterioration of the national and local economic situation.

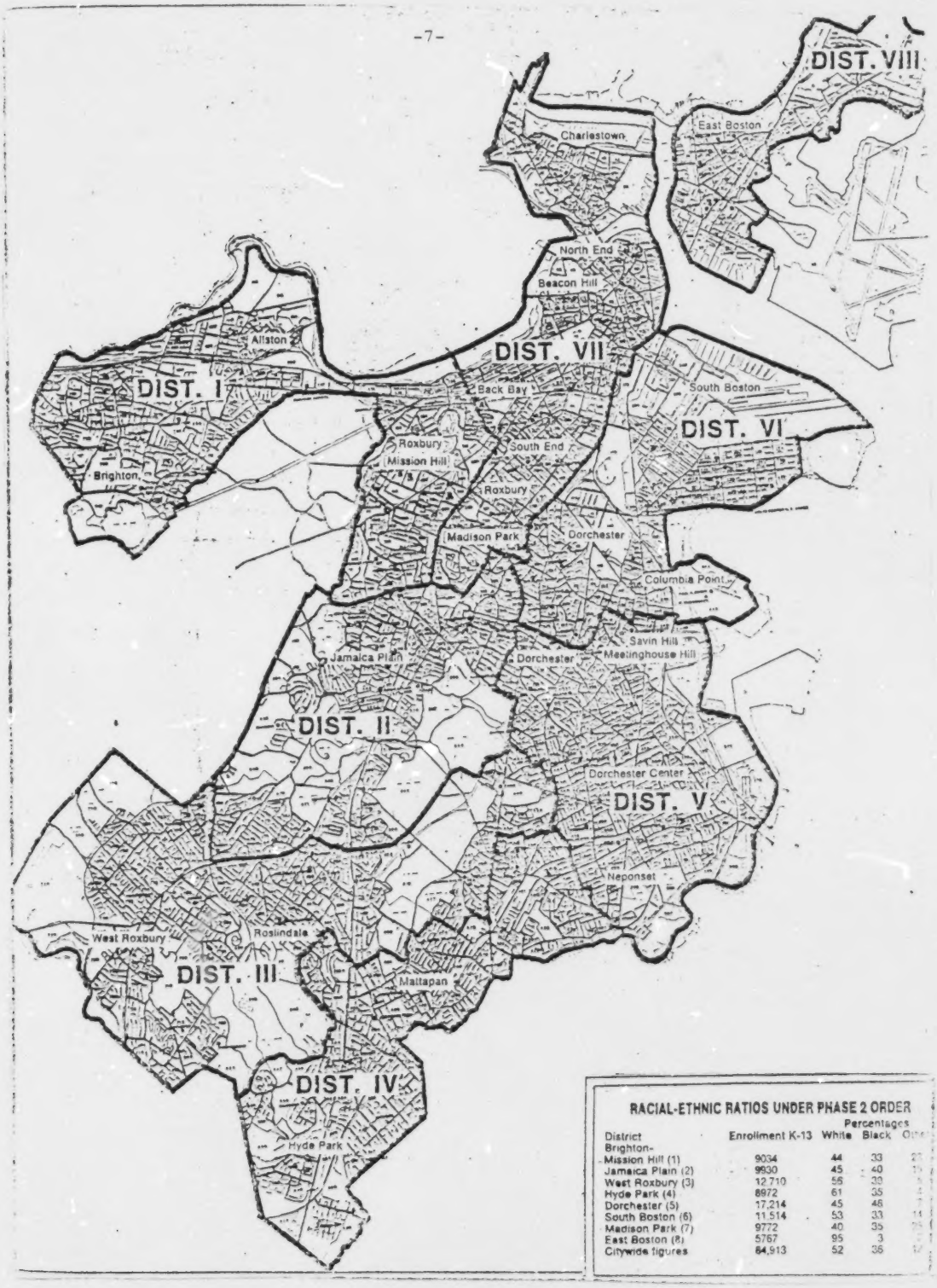
(2) The state presidential primary and municipal elections which took place during the fall and winter, 1975-76, after ten years of resistence to school desegregation in Boston by elected officials.

(3) Intrabureaucratic bickering in the absence of consistent official leadership and coordination of desegregation activities.

(4) The vociferous opposition to desegregation by anti-busing organizations, which frightened Boston's residents and may have stimulated the lack of active support of school integration throughout the city.

The long history of evasion of the State Racial Imbalance Law (1965), the violence of Phase I desegregation, and the climate which persisted during Phase II, made it difficult for private groups to carry out successful school programs.*

*For a detailed discussion of these issues, see the School Desegregation Climate, Appendix B.



RACIAL-ETHNIC RATIOS UNDER PHASE 2 ORDER

District	Enrollment K-13	Percentages White	Black	Other
Brighton-Mission Hill (1)	9034	44	33	23
Jamaica Plain (2)	9930	45	40	15
West Roxbury (3)	12,710	56	39	5
Hyde Park (4)	8972	61	35	4
Dorchester (5)	17,214	45	46	9
South Boston (6)	11,514	53	33	14
Madison Park (7)	9772	40	39	21
East Boston (8)	5767	95	3	2
Citywide figures	84,913	52	36	12

Major Events of Phase II: September 1, 1975-May 31, 1976*

September 1 through December 31, 1975. Phase II desegregation began with protests in Charlestown. There were days of disruption at Charlestown High School and almost daily demonstrations and nightly candlelight prayer marches and street fights with police at Bunker Hill. Disruption at South Boston High, well known during Phase I, continued. Tremors from these disturbances were felt at other high schools in the city. The media, manpower and resources of city desegregation safety services, and community organizations, however, turned toward Charlestown which was desegregated for the first time under Phase II. An interviewee involved in a community agency remarked, "Everybody wanted to get in the act."

The third week of school (September 22-28) was marked by a week long teachers' strike in which the interests of another group, school employees, intruded into the Phase II plan. The strike coincided with Boston's primary elections for mayor, tne city council, and the school committee.

Parent, student and teacher disruptions of school had an impact on the municipal elections. Boston's incumbent Mayor White, for example, minimized the impact of an anti-busing vote against him by maintaining a low profile, that is, by not publicly supporting pro-implementation groups and activities in 1975. Anti-busing candidates for the city council and school committee campaigned on the busing issue and neutral or pro-busing candidates focused on "quality education" rather than upon busing per se.

From September through December, 1975 parties in the desegregation court case met to iron out the details of a proposed new code of discipline which would minimize discrimination in school disciplinary practices. School committee defendants participated only with reluctance.

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*See Chronology of Phase II Events in Appendix C.

By the end of October, however, South Boston High School, a trouble spot during 1974-75, again became a focal point of demonstrations and racial fights, particularly in the week before the November 4th general election. Disruptions continued later that month with arguments in federal court over an NAACP motion for a hearing to discuss whether South Boston High School should be closed because of continued racial strife.

National attention focused on Boston during the fall and officials of every persuasion shared an opinion. President Gerald Ford and Democratic party presidential candidates, such as George Wallace, made public statements voicing opposition to busing in their campaigns for the New England presidential primaries. From October through December, the U.S. Senate held hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit busing. On November 14, George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, made a public statement in support of school busing and challenged Boston union locals to revise their anti-busing stands.

On December 9, the federal court made headlines when it placed the symbol of anti-busing protests, South Boston High School, in receivership. Conditions at "Southie" were so bad that few observers were surprised by this action. That the school was not closed entirely may have come as a surprise, and may have been seen as another victory, of sorts, for anti-busing forces. The court excluded the Boston school committee from participation and placed South Boston High School under the sole direction of school Superintendent Fahey. This preceded the removal of the school's headmaster and assistant headmaster (leaving the staff intact) and the inception of a nationwide search for a new school principal.

<u>January 1 through May 31, 1976</u>. In January 1976, anti-busing demonstrations continued with protests at East Boston High School. Demonstrators were trying to prevent the integration of East Boston High in the Fall of 1976. Demonstrations in Charlestown continued, but the main crisis in January was a fight involving several hundred students at Hyde Park High School.

From January until March, presidential candidates swung through Massachusetts to escalate their campaigns for the Massachusetts presidential primary on March 2.

During these months, the Boston school committee began to assess its expenses for impending budgetary sessions for the 1976-77 school year. The Committee engaged in several flare-ups with Superintendent Fahey, for example, when she publicly aired her criticisms of the school committee in early February and, later, in a dispute over patronage, when she proposed to drop 1,100 school jobs during 1976-77.

The anti-busing organization, ROAR, stimulated pressure to have Fahey dismissed as superintendent and anti-busing forces succeeded in getting the mayor to hire an attorney on February 11, to fight the 1974 federal school desegregation decision in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Anti-busing forces precipitated two large disruptions in mid-February. On February 12, the Phase II Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC) held the last in a series of open, district hearings, organized to plan for Phase IIB. After small disruptions at earlier hearings, the final meeting at English High School, in District IX, was the scene of a militant ROAR demonstration. Anti-busing demonstrators disrupted the meeting, tore up auditorium seats, and took over the podium before the meeting was discontinued. Two days later, a men's march against forced busing ended in a street fight between police and the demonstrators in South Boston. At the end of the month the previously disrupted District IX hearing was reconvened at Brighton High, under heavy police and FBI protection, and anti-busing men held a second march in South Boston without any incidents.

The month of March began with the Massachusetts presidential primary in which Senator Henry Jackson, opposed to forced busing, placed first on the Democratic party run-off, Congressman Udall was second and George Wallace was third. President Ford won the Republican run-off against Ronald Reagan. The dispute over teacher layoffs continued in March among the school committee, Superintendent Fahey, the federal court and the Boston Teachers Union.

On April 5, students from Charlestown and South Boston, continuing their protest against possible school integration, beat, with an American flag, a black attorney in front of Boston's City Hall. This incident was followed by a public outcry from officials and organization leaders all over the city, and precipitated new rashes of car stonings in Roxbury and Dorchester, including the serious beating of a white Jamaica Plain motorist in Roxbury. After these incidents, pro-desegregation forces cancelled a march and rally downtown and Mayor White and Governor Dukakis led a peace march from the Boston Common to City Hall Plaza on April 23. The remainder of the month was marked by continual stonings throughout the city.

In the midst of Boston's preoccupation with street violence, Mayor White announced on April 16, that the school department budget would be exhausted earlier than anticipated, and that the schools might have to close in mid-May. Later, on April 26, the Mayor called for state police aid to fight street violence and created a Task Force on Violence to study street disruption in the city resulting from school disorder.

On April 26, Jerome Winegar, a former assistant principal from St. Paul, Minnesota, assumed the position of headmaster at South Boston High School. Winegar's first day at school coincided with a city wide, one day, white student stay out, a demonstration in front of South Boston High, and a bomb scare inside the school. The following day, attendance was up, but there were bomb scares at five other schools in the city. The month of April came to a close with an immense student fight at Hyde Park High School.

Stonings following the Hyde Park disruption continued well into May. A large anti-busing rally was held in Charlestown on May 2. The following day, May 3, 1976, Judge Garrity unveiled his plans for the 1976-77 school year, a plan called Phase IIB, which notably excluded East Boston's schools from integration.

Overview of Groups in the City

A wide range of agencies and organizations parti-

cipated in the 1975-76 school desegregation process. These groups were either governmental agencies and organizations or non-governmental, private groups. Governmental agencies and government-created organizations are categorized in this report as federal, state or municipal groups. Private agencies and organizations are categorized by this evaluator in the following ways:

(1) By the school district in which they are involved or as city wide groups.

(2) As white anti-busing groups, as minority community organizations (black, Spanish speaking, or Chinese), or as desegregation support organizations, not specifically identified with anti-busing or a minority community.

Thus, the Citywide Educational Coalition, Freedom House Information Center, and Massachusetts Advocacy Center would all be considered as multidistrict, citywide groups in the first analysis, because their services went to parents and students attending schools in most districts. Freedom House would be considered a minority community organization (since it is headed by minority group members and is located in the black community) and CWEC and MAC would be placed in the non-minority desegregation support organization category, in the second analysis (since the groups are headed by whites and are located in the downtown business district). A final way in which organizations can be examined is by diagramming the organizational networks of the three organizations being evaluated.*

Issues. The most important issues with regard to private agencies and organizations in the city during Phase II were:

(1) Groups were not equally distributed throughout the city. However, when the districts with the most

*For tables of groups in the city involved in school desegregation, see Appendix D.

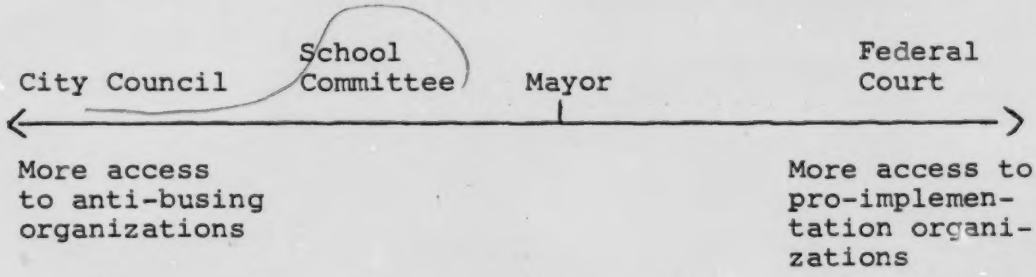
troublesome high schools are considered (IV Hyde Park, VI South Boston, VII Charlestown, VIII East Boston), there seems to be little relationship between the number of support organizations and the amount of school disruption. Some troublesome high schools, e.g., Charlestown High, received considerable attention from private groups. Such groups, however, functioned from predominantly minority neighborhoods, as buffers between minority group students and white anti-busing students, parents and school personnel; dealing more with casualties than preventing disruption. There was a lack of strong organizational intervention with white youths and adults who were involved in disruptions. There was little evidence of white organizations serving as buffers between protesting white youths and the schools.

(2) Desegregation implementation support organizations did not operate as a self-conscious network but rather communication was task or crisis oriented. The major exception to this was the Freedom House Coalition and its Coordinated Social Services meetings.

(3) There was no citywide coordination of private organizations initiated or supported by government agencies.

(4) There were spheres of interaction between organizations and government agencies. Some organizations interacted more freely with the mayor's office, the City Council, the School Committee, the school department, or the federal court. Anti-busing groups received the most access to members of the Boston City Council. In fact, the leadership of the anti-desegregation movement and leadership of the city council overlapped. Most pro-implementation organizations found the federal court more accessible than other government agencies. This access was structured by the framework of the original federal court case and by the litigation process. This is to say, then, that pro-desegregation organizations found themselves forced to operate, for the most part, without close interaction with the principal municipal administrative, policy-making, or service agencies, a distinct disadvantage. The main exception to this was the City-wide Educational Coalition whose leaders persisted in

carrying on a dialogue with the mayor's staff, the federal court, and the school department. Freedom House, too, maintained a dialogue by the assignment of lawyers to intervene in court, and with a series of guest speakers, some of whom were policymakers. These dialogues not only maintained ties with the federal and city bureaucracies, but also had an impact on policy formation, particularly in the federal court.



CHAPTER II

CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION

The Citywide Educational Coalition began in January, 1972 "to provide a means for all the people of Boston to take part in determining the future of their schools; and through them, the future of their city." The organization started by issuing its opinions about school practices, e.g., the hiring of a new school superintendent in 1972. This activity has been continued ever since then.

The Coalition expanded in 1973 to include a Resource Center providing information to the public about schools. This is still an important feature of the organization. In 1974-75, the Coalition expanded again to include a field staff of parent organizers, called "neighborhood" or "district coordinators," to facilitate desegregation on a local basis. In April 1976, the organization added a technical assistance staff, a research project, public information project, and a parent advocacy/agency liaison project, to aid parent groups organized at schools during Phase II.*

Goals

During the summer of 1975, the Citywide Educational Coalition had as its goals for 1975-76:**

(1) To maintain a Resource Center that would be the CWEC headquarters and that would publish a monthly newsletter with 20,000-50,000 circulation, and would gather and distribute information about schools.

(2) To participate in school public safety measures;

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* For a narrative of CWEC activities during the 1975-76 school year, see Appendix E.

**See Appendix E for lists of goals in the organization's own words.

(3) To organize parents at the school level.

These goals changed during the school year. On March 19, 1976, CWEC staff members listed seventeen short and long-term goals. All of the long-term goals and the first four short-term goals are listed here:*

Long-term goals:

(1) To establish an active parent, educational coalition, to change the schools;

(2) To establish a parent organization in each school, especially Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils (RPC).

(3) To procure funds for CWEC.

Short-term goals:

(1) To organize an active RPC in every school;

(2) To reorganize CWEC smoothly;

(3) To press for legal status for Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils, Community-District Advisory Councils, Citywide Parent Advisory Councils, etc., and to agree upon which groups will bring the most changes;

(4) To continue as a resource for parents; for information, referral, and crisis intervention.

Thus, parent organizing which had been important all along, emerged as a top priority, listed as both a long and short-term goal. After April 1, 1976, when a new program grant began, the provision of technical assistance and advice to existing parent groups emerged as a goal, as important as parent organizing.

Parts of the Organization

The history of CWEC has been one of continual

*See Appendix E for complete list of goals in the organization's own words.

growth. In September 1975, when the organization moved from 112 Arlington Street to its present location at 52 Chauncy Street downtown, there were two major organizational components:*

(1) Resource Center; including, administration, telephone rumor control, and publications (school document reprints, newsletter).

(2) Field staff. Including neighborhood coordinators, parent counsellors, and CWEC executive director as field staff director.

Several changes occurred in 1976. In December, CWEC hired a field director and the administrative part of the organization became more clearly defined. So, three parts of the organization were differentiated: executive, resource center, and field staff.

On April 1, a number of changes went into effect. New staff members were hired, some old staff members shifted to new positions, some stayed where they were, and some old staff members left the organization. There was a differentiation of new organizational parts:

(1) Executive and Administrative staff

(2) Parent organizing, field staff

(3) Parent Advocacy/Agency Liaison project staff

(4) Technical assistance staff

(5) Public information and newsletter staff

(6) Research staff

So, the direction of the Citywide Educational Coalition, during 1975-76, was one of expansion and new divisions of labor.

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*For Organizational Charts, see Appendix E.

Parent Councils

A primary goal of the Coalition field staff was the creation of parent advisory councils or Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils, which were outlined in the first Garrity ruling. The reports of CWEC coordinators in December 1975 and in March 1976 provide data for drawing some general conclusions about the Racial-Ethnic Parent Council organizing of CWEC.

Data are available for nine districts.* CWEC staff members report that RPC's exist at most public schools. This was the case, it seems, whether or not CWEC staff members recruited and supported the RPC's. It appears, however, that there is some correspondence between CWEC staff "orientation" of parents and "support" of an RPC and the report that an RPC "holds regular meetings" or "functions well." So, while there is no hard evidence regarding CWEC participation in the creation of RPC's, the organization did have input into group maintenance.

Out of 103 schools in which CWEC staff members gave support, orientation, or recruited RPC members in the fall, only 14 of the schools did not have RPC's which met regularly nor functioned well in March, 1976. One is still unable to tell from this information whether District Coordinators actually catalyzed individual school RPC's, whether coordinators gravitated to schools where parents were already organized or inclined to do so, or whether there was some misreporting. It is probable that there was some of each of these occurences. For example, it seems that most district coordinators informally selected some schools for greater attention than others, because: some schools were attended by their own children; high schools and some middle schools were so tense that parent organizing was very difficult and very time consuming; elementary school parents were more amenable to parent organizing; there was open resistance to parent organization by faculty members at

*For a school by school breakdown of parent organizing see Appendix E.

some schools.

Working with parents, CWEC field staff members performed several kinds of activities: 1) the provision of information assistance and moral support; 2) the stimulation of parent involvement in pro-implementation events; 3) actual participation as council members on the school, district, and city-wide level.* Staff members also circulated to schools to maintain rapport with, and to informally monitor, school staffs.

Newsletter and Publications. CWEC quarterly reports and its May, 1976 annual report state that the organization newsletter circulation was at least 20,000. No hard evidence was gathered to the contrary. Observations, however, suggest that the monthly publication rate was probably more like 12,000 and actual circulation was about 10,000. This estimate is based on the lack of evidence rather than on the existence of it.

During Phase II, a mailing list of 6,000 was used by the printer for circulation of the CWEC newsletter. (The circulation of other documents sometimes employed this mailing list and at other times did not.) District coordinators were given stacks of newspapers to hand out or to drop off at spots in their districts. Other bundles of papers were dropped off on a "downtown" route, at ABCD, (the city anti-poverty agency), City Hall, and at city and state agencies. In this manner, the staff probably distributed about 4,000 newspapers per month. Finally, there were monthly stacks of extra newsletters which sat in the CWEC office. Using these unobtrusive measures, the circulation of the newspaper, Coalition, is estimated at 10,000 per month.

The demand and circulation of other CWEC publications was much more evident. Between September 1975 and June 1976, CWEC produced seven documents which interpreted school policy, and an annual report booklet.

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*See Appendix E for a list of activities performed under each of these headings.

The seven school policy publications and CWEC reprints of school and federal court documents, were rapidly absorbed by parents and school system personnel. CWEC was probably the only private organization in the city equipped to provide this kind of analysis, interpretation, publication, and circulation.*

Issues

The Citywide Educational Coalition was particularly successful in several areas:

1) Dissemination of school documents and publications which explain school policy.

2) Stimulation of parent groups and the desegregation bureaucracy, including maintenance and encouragement of existing court ordered school groups, the provision of information, maintaining rapport with city, school and court officials while pressuring them, direct participation in court-ordered organizations.

The organization's main weaknesses are:

1) An ineffective newsletter. The newsletter, Coalition, has been a resource for CWEC supporters, but the format can be more effective and the distribution can be made even more systematic. Considering the resources which are devoted to the newsletter now, and the additional resources which would be required to expand the address list to effectively distribute the newsletter, this evaluation recommends that resources for the organ be balanced by other media, e.g., posters, fliers, the purchase of prime time T.V. or radio spots.

2) The allocation of field staff time and attention. One CWEC coordinator is not enough to organize and maintain every RPC in a district. This goal is unrealistic and leads to an arbitrary allocation of time. CWEC should prioritize schools within districts and then reallocate staff time accordingly.

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*For a list of CWEC publications see Appendix E.

This problem, each field coordinator attempting to organize between fifteen and twenty schools, is symptomatic of a problem faced by the entire CWEC organization: attempting to "do everything", to fill a void which is impossible for one organization in the city to fill, and in that way, spreading the work of the organization too thin.

To put it another way, CWEC has too many short-term goals. The organization has also experienced rapid expansion, organizational structural changes, and staff turnover. Some of these changes seem to have occurred as much in response to the availability of financial resources as the result of long-term planning. The organization should take some time now to resort its priorities.

3) The shift to technical assistance, although no doubt an effective new part of the organization, was premature, since one coordinator per district is not enough to complete the task of organizing and maintaining one RPC per school. The work with 15-20 schools per district might be split so that the technical assistance staff works directly with a few, smoothly operating, parent groups per district, alleviating district coordinators from go-between work and permitting district coordinators to focus on the more unresponsive, time-consuming, parent groups in a district.*

A final problematic issue, which goes beyond CWEC, is the organization of minority group parents. This issue is problematic because CWEC is not entirely effective at organizing black, Hispanic, and Chinese parents for participation in RPC's etc. (Mainly because of the work of one staff member, bilingual information is being tailored specifically to the needs of the Spanish-speaking.)

It is not at all clear that CWEC should be organizing black and other minority group parents. First, the organization, which is white-run, is not viewed as a

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*The researcher was told, as this report was being published, that this process is, in fact, what has happened.

black-oriented organization, either by black community members, or by CWEC staff members. Apart from this organizational image, there is no agreement in the city about parent organizing; about whether parents should be organized on a district basis irregardless of color, or whether minority community groups should also be organizing minority parents for participation in school groups. This is an important issue since desegregation is ultimately aimed at providing blacks with equal opportunities to participate in schools.

It is clear that there are no groups organizing black parents any effective way. CWEC's important strength has been with white moderates. School meetings are often held in the "white" part of a school district, e.g., in Brighton rather than in Mission Hill. Black parents need transportation and someone to generate a sense of urgency about going that far to meetings. Perhaps, as a black agency leader said to the researcher, it isn't necessary to organize black parents any differently than other parents, just take care of the transportation and organize all parents on a school by school basis. This may be so. From this perspective, additional resources may be required for parents of any color who cannot afford babysitters and transportation.

CHAPTER III

FREEDOM HOUSE INFORMATION CENTER

Freedom House, Inc., located at 14 Crawford Street in Roxbury, was established in 1949 by a husband-wife team of black community activists. Involved in self-help efforts to bring about physical and social change in a predominately black neighborhood, the organization played a principal role in the Washington Park urban renewal area during the 1950's and '60's, worked on race relations, home and school relations, and has served as a focal point for efforts around the employment of blacks, a source of advice to business firms regarding affirmative action, as well as a social resource center. In anticipation of problems arising out of the federal court school decision of 1974, Freedom House established an educational component, the Freedom House Institute on Schools and Education, directed by one of the architects of the state's Phase I desegregation plan.

During the summer of 1974, the Institute began a series of meetings, including a number of community agencies, as well as the Mayor's staff. From these meetings emerged a coalition of black community organizations, individuals from universities, the Hispanic community, and other groups. The Freedom House Coalition, as it was called, initiated a rumor control, desegregation monitoring network, with community contingency plans. Freedom House became the nerve center with a bank of phones, manned by volunteers, for public information, as well as a focus for contact with city hall, roving city officials, the school department, the police, and a team of citizen monitors who patrolled neighborhoods and schools.

The Institute on Schools and Education and the Freedom House Coalition sponsored open meetings for community members, parents, students, staff members of other agencies, and municipal officials. One participant called the Freedom House Coalition, "the best thing that's happened, because groups are now accountable to one another."

Before the start of the 1975-76 school year, the Freedom House Coalition held a five day workshop and began to meet on a weekly basis. Social workers and legal teams were organized to respond to student needs at police stations and courts. A crisis team was established. Identification cards were procured for offical entry by a few team members into schools. Volunteers were readied for response to crises. The mobile communication network was established. As a spinoff of the first year's experience with parents and students, a support network of over forty agencies was initiated. The Coordinated Social Services group, an open Wednesday meeting for representatives from a score of agencies (including CWEC and MAC), began to meet at Freedom House to exchange information and as a springboard for public position statements. The telephone rumor control center was begun again, funded by LEAA. All of these activities were rekindled in Phase II, only this time with some election year distancing of black community operations from "downtown".

Goals

In September, 1975, the Freedom House Information Center had as its goals:*

(1) To provide school information and assistance through a rumor control system, and support services for students.

(2) To provide a forum for parents and students.

(3) To provide a channel for black community recommendations to public officials.

These goals remained the same throughout the school year.

Parts of the Organization**

The Freedom House organization as a whole consists of a board of directors, an executive staff headed by the

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* See Appendix F for a list of Goals in the organization's own words.

** See Appendix F for an Organizational Chart.

co-directors, a general information and referral service, youth and senior citizen programs, some direct service to individuals, and the Institute on Schools and Education. The Institute has two subparts: an educational counseling service and career development center, and an information and rumor control center. The latter is the focus of this evaluation.

The Information/Rumor Control Center*

As the school year began, the Freedom House Information Center logged approximately 192 calls per week, (or 38 calls per weekday) about routine school assignments, transportation to school, transfers, or for general information. A number of calls in September (97) were reports from crisis team members who were assigned to patrol schools and the courts. There were also phone calls (22) about the September public school teachers' strike.

The number of telephone calls declined during the next few months (from 789 in September to 74 in December, 1975). The distribution of the subject matter of telephone calls shifted, too. School assignment and transportation calls dropped off almost entirely, crisis team reports declined steadily, while the largest number of calls were requests for general information or were "socio-legal" calls, i.e., they were calls from parents whose children had been suspended and arrested at school. The increase in calls which resulted in socio-legal case follow-up corresponds to the disruptions at South Boston High School in October and November. The number of disorderly conduct and school disruption cases opened by Freedom House staff members increased sharply from 5 in September to 21 in October, declined in November (13), and tapered off almost entirely (2) in December, corresponding with the period of greatest pressure in South Boston, preceding the placement of the school into receivership by the federal court on December 9. What is evident here, then, is a pattern of expansion and

*For tabulations, descriptions of types of phone calls received, and the disposition of cases see Appendix F.

contraction of community agency services in response to school crises.

After the first of the year, Freedom House relied on volunteers to man its telephones. The volunteers did not record all incoming phone calls. Besides, the volume of calls had fallen off to approximately twenty-four calls per week. During February, there were only five socio-legal calls, corresponding to the decline of suspensions after the federal court action against South Boston High School and new school system disciplinary code.

Other Institute Activities

In spite of the decline in telephone rumor control, other Freedom House school-oriented activities continued. The Institute on Schools and Education sponsored a series of speakers and workshops on education, issued several information newsletters, wrote a guide to students' rights, had a weekly Sunday night radio show, called "From the Black Perspective," met with media about school events, issued a critique of the 1974 School Committee desegregation plan, and preliminary findings and recommendations about the court-ordered university pairings.

Issues

Freedom House, as an information center located in the black community, was particularly successful at:

1) Providing a place where black community members could feel comfortable getting answers to questions, especially during crises.

2) Coordinating black community support services; developing a black community communications network and forum for discussion of school issues.

3) Formulating broad black community policy positions.

Some of the weaknesses of the Freedom House setup include:

1) Permitting the information function to taper off during the second half of the school year.

2) The organization and the coalition were not set up to deal with student or parent organizing. Hence, the system was geared to respond to crisis and to carry out stationary programs such as holding meetings, workshops and seminars, answering questions, rather than actively circulating Freedom House editions of school information. This may have been due to limited resources; certainly the LEAA input paid for telephones only. Also, the groups participating in the Freedom House Coalition had additional priorities; schools were only one part of their agendas. None of the black community organizations involved in the Freedom House Coalition existed only to deal with school change and desegregation. Freedom House itself was the only group with an educational, school desegregation support unit, the Institute. So, while the most vociferous anti-desegregation groups existed only to resist desegregation, the black pro-implementation organizations could not give desegregation their undivided attention, leadership and resources.

There is a need for more aggressive outreach to black parents and students by some well-established organization(s). There is a need for effective parent organizing, for transportation for black parents to schools, for black student support groups and multiracial student groups. The responsibility for these resource-consuming activities easily falls to private organizations when the school department and school officials do not carry them out.

CHAPTER IV

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

The Massachusetts Advocacy Center grew out of an earlier organization, the Task Force on Children Out of School, Inc., in 1973. Its focus became "children's issues," "matters involving childrens' services and rights."*

During its first year, the Mass. Advocacy Center established six priority areas:

(1) The right to education;

(2) Special education;

(3) Child health;

(4) Protection of children used as research subjects;

(5) The juvenile justice system;

(6) Access to public information.

The organization published a report on children out of school, entitled, "The Way We Go To School;" an educational handbook for parents, students, and professionals; a report on the state mental health system; a report about lead paint poisoning; and, organized litigation about state school breakfast programs, in addition to investigating and publicizing its opinions about a number of other state policy issues affecting children. The exertion of pressure on public officials, to change statutes or to get them implemented, continues to be a primary aim of MAC activities. The Center also established a case advocacy unit "which provides assistance to students who experience difficulties in the

*Massachusetts Advocacy Center. Second Annual Report, Boston, Massachusetts, 1975.

public schools." During the 1974-75 school year the advocacy unit was staffed by six para-legal advocates who advised and interceded on behalf of students with problems stemming from school desegregation and students who were being assessed for special education programs under the Chapter 766 of the Massachusetts General Laws.

Goals

The goal statement of the Massachusetts Advocacy Center for its case advocacy unit in July, 1975, was:

> To provide legal and para-professional services to students enrolled in the Boston public schools during the implementation of Phase II of the federal court order requiring desegregation of the school system.*

This statement included only half of the scope of the Boston case advocacy unit whose goal during the 1975-76 year included providing the same services to students with problems relating to the implementation of Chapter 766. The unit also handled 766 cases on a state-wide basis.

Providing help to individuals was only one purpose of case advocacy. The day to day, front line advocate experience was linked (although not always systematically) to the Center's broader goals. These goals were stated to the researcher in the spring of 1976:

(1) To monitor state and local governments to see that they are carrying out their mandates;

(2) To do case advocacy as a service to individuals; to get an idea of how well state legislation is being implemented; to legitimatize MAC with its constituency.

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*Massachusetts Advocacy Center. Proposal to LEAA. Boston, Massachusetts. July 11, 1975, p.1.

Thus, although an evaluation issue raised at the beginning of this report, i.e., whether or not MAC handled a significant proportion of desegregation-related suspension cases in the city, was valid as a contextual issue, it was beside the point for the Mass. Advocacy Center itself. MAC's broader goal was to successfully handle all of the cases it could manage and to raise the knowledge gained from cases to the level of school policy change.

Parts of the Organization*

The work of the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, from September 1975 to April 1976, was coordinated by three top staff members: the executive director, the assistant director, and the director of 766 activities. In September 1975, a litigation lawyer was brought onto the staff. These relatively autonomous organization leaders trained, supervised, and carried on a running dialogue with case advocates.

Advocacy Cases

The public school suspension picture changed during the 1975-76 school year and case advocacy at the Massachusetts Advocacy Center reflected the process. During the first year of school desegregation, an average of 38.9 out of every 100 students in average daily attendance were suspended from Boston's public high schools.** A disproportionately high number of black students (64.5 blacks per 100 high school students in average daily attendance versus 22.5 whites) were suspended. During that year, MAC gathered statistics on school suspensions, participated in the drafting of a model disciplinary code, and turned the material over to the Children's Defense Fund which headed the litigation about the discriminatory school disciplinary code for the plaintiffs in Judge Garrity's court. From September through November, 1975 the rate

*See Appendix G for an Organizational Chart.

**U.S. District Court, Massachusetts. Morgan v. Kerrigan Civil Action No. 72-911-G. Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, February 2, 1976. See Appendix G for detailed suspension data.

of student suspensions, though down from the previous school year, remained high. 2,730 students were suspended between September 3 and December 31, 1975.* 56 per cent of this number were black students. So, black students were still being suspended at a disproportionately high rate.

Two federal court actions caused a decline in suspensions after the first of the year. On December 9, 1975, the court placed South Boston High School in receivership, and in February, 1976 school disciplinary litigation stimulated in 1975 by MAC, came to a climax in federal court with the interrogation of headmasters from several schools. (The federal court is expected to rule on the code in early September, 1976.) As the result of these two processes, the average number of suspended public school students declined from 682.5 suspensions per month, between September and December 31, to 599.16 suspensions per month, from January through June, 1976. The percentage of the total number of suspensions which were black student suspensions, however, remained high, at 55%, from January through June, 1976.

According to its own reports, the Massachusetts Advocacy Center handled ninety-six cases from September to December, 1975. Divided evenly that could have meant approximately sixteen cases per advocate for the three month period, or one or two cases per week. Of these cases, an overwhelming number of clients were black male students who were suspended from Boston's public high schools.** An analysis of MAC case files for this evaluation yielded seventy-eight cases for the same time

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*Official School Department figures, include walk outs and mass suspensions. Reported by Dr. James Walsh, Boston School Department. See Appendix G for tabulations of suspensions by month for 1975-76. These figures, not calculated according to average daily attendance, are underrepresentations of the real problem.

**See Appendix G for tabulations of MAC case material and for an outline of case advocate responsibilities.

period.* The distribution of cases analyzed in this study, however, is similar to that indicated by MAC in its quarterly report. The Mass. Advocacy Center clientele up through December 1975 was a predominantly black, predominantly teen-age male group.

The case frequency pattern found at Freedom House is repeated by MAC cases analyzed on a monthly basis: case intakes built to a crescendo in October and November, particularly South Boston High cases, and diminished in December 1975, prior to the school vacation when South Boston High School was placed in receivership. (CWEC hot-line calls peaked during the first two weeks of school in September and declined thereafter.)

Data for Massachusetts Advocacy Center cases after January 1976 indicate a shift in clientele:**

(1) From suspension cases to Chapter 766, special education cases;

(2) To more white and suburban cases;***

(3) In Boston, from South Boston High School cases to cases in other schools, particularly in middle and elementary schools.

Out of 122 case files with age and sex designations, for September 1975 to May, 1976, there were:

(1) 83 males, 38 females, 1 unidentified.

(2) Ages roughly from 4 to 20 years; with an average client age of 15 years for both sexes.

(3) 73 clients listed as "bussed".

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*A discrepancy of this size probably indicates that not all of the case files were made available for inspection and that record keeping at MAC can be improved. See Appendix G for tabulations.

**See Appendix G for a detailed narrative and tables.

***LEAA sponsored intervention in Boston cases only. According to MAC's tally, its advocates handled 389 cases in 1975-76, both within and outside of Boston.

Of a total number of 133 case files examined 48% (65) were recorded as closed. The average duration of closed cases was 27 days (with the 3 most time-consuming cases dropped from the calculation).

Issues

Some of the strong features of the Massachusetts Advocacy Center were:

1) The organization was the only groups in the city which worked directly, full-time, with suspended students.

2) In spite of the overwhelming suspension problem, MAC had very high case advocate morale, and received favorable marks from other agencies.

3) MAC was a springboard to action on a broader policy level and for court action.

The Massachusetts Advocacy Center responded to client approaches, mostly suspensions until early 1976, but the school suspensions tapered off and the organization began to respond more to "766" cases. The organization did not intend to respond to a significant proportion of those students suspended during the year, nor did the organization, apparently, seek out suspension cases when the tide began to change in 1976. This neutral reception of clients, rather than seeking out clients, was a drawback to the pursuit of the student suspension issue throughout the school year.

MAC intervention did seem to contribute to the satisfactory solution of a number of suspension cases. It is unclear, however, how often suspensions cleared themselves up, since a student could often return to school after the suspension period anyway. And, it is of course impossible to determine how many "push outs" were prevented. It also seems that one solution to continual trouble at a school, e.g., repeated student suspensions and arrests at South Boston High, was for MAC to help arrange for a school transfer. This, from one point of view, might be considered contributing to a "push out". In the absence of school department or federal court action, this was the ironic last resort.

Other weaknesses of the organization were:

1) The hook-up between case advocacy and policy or court action was not as systematic and clear as it might be in order to make this important part of MAC's activities stronger. More systematic records and reporting might facilitate this process.

2) The need for clear guidelines about when and how to bring cases to a close. The large number of unclosed cases, variations in staff understandings about case closure, and the occasional over-nuturance of cases, indicate that this important final step in case advocacy needs clarification.

3) MAC is a white-run organization which, in its desegregation case advocate activity, was aimed primarily at black students. This raised the issue of MAC's interaction with an responsiveness to the needs and requests of a minority constituency.*

4) Preoccupation with financial and maintenance needs prevents maximum administrative attention to the policy activities of MAC; the inexhaustion of policy issues raised by members of the Case Advocacy Unit.

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*This is similar to the earlier discussion of black parent organizing in the evaluation of CWEC.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overview

Several conclusions result from this evaluation of the impact of community organizations involved in Boston's school desegregation. First, the projects at least minimally accomplished what they said they were going to do. The Citywide Educational Coalition organized and stimulated parents and published a newsletter, Freedom House answered telephone inquiries, and the Mass. Advocacy Center interceded in school suspension cases.

The reason for the successes of the three organizations were several. First, all three groups had strong, authoritative leadership. Second, the groups succeeded to the extent that they had stable relationships with some other organizations and agencies in the city. The Citywide Educational Coalition leadership maintained communications with city, state, and federal court officials and participated in court ordered organizations as active members. Freedom House staff participated in a coalition network of black community organizations. The Massachusetts Advocacy Center had important ties, when dealing with the school suspensions, to Freedom House and the Children's Defense Fund. The results in terms of a springboard for the largest amount of resources, were most helpful to CWEC, which probably has the largest budget of any private school organization in the city, in part a result of its rapport with government officials (federal). These large resources are an important factor in the number of activities in which CWEC was able to engage.

The main priorities of the three organizations, as outlined in September 1975, did not remain consistent throughout the school year, however. It is a conclusion of this evaluation that in spite of the inconsistencies in the aims and their achievements, the three desegregation projects were not superfluous. Each group made a distinct contribution to the desegregation process. CWEC was the only multi-district, pro-implementation, parent organizing group in the city. Freedom House provided the only fully equipped information center which

specifically supported black parents, students, and agencies. MAC was the only full-time suspension intervention agency in the city. So, in spite of their faults, these organizations filled a serious void.

The reason for the void, a larger, more important issue, was that there should have been more official support on the federal, state, municipal, and school system levels, for school desegregation in Boston. There could also have been more private support, but that was and is unlikely in the current economic and social climate.

What happened in Boston was that there were a number of conspicuous gaps in services for desegregation, created because of government resistance to or disagreement with, the change. There was a conspicuous absence of coordination of public and private resources to help make desegregation succeed. This could have been done by private groups, where mechanisms were available. But, the responsibility really lay with government officials.

In the absence of strong, consistent, official initiative in Boston's desegregation (apart from the federal court), the responsibility for such crucial processes as thorough information dispersal, court ordered parent organizations, non-police crisis intervention, student advocacy, and programming for youths out of school, was transferred to privage agencies. Even when these services could be handled more efficiently and effectively by private community groups, the coordination of desegregation support services - the weaving of that delicate, potential network of intercommunity cooperating agencies - required strong municipal leadership. The mayor, the school committee, the school superintendent, the Citywide Coordinating Council (under the direction of the federal court), could have done this. Each of these locuses of citywide power made some contribution. None of them took substantial initiative. Political considerations which led to court ordered desegregation in Phase I won out again in Phase II.

The fact that there was no strong support for private pro-implementation groups from government, placed an undue burden and overly high expectations on private

groups. What one private group could possibly organize all of Boston's parents, or seek out and solve all of the issues that arise in minority communities about schools, or intervene in every suspension case in the city? These are unrealistic expectations with which three private agencies are faced. As a result, the impact of any missed goals was impossible to minimize, the universe of organizations performing these duties was so small.

The coordination of desegregation services was minimal because of minimal city leadership in this area and because of the competition among groups. The Citywide Educational Coalition and the Freedom House Coalition are two ambitious organizations; they each attempt to perform a number of services for broad, overlapping constituencies. Only an equally strong third force can create a network which includes these two coalitions.

Recommendations

This evaluator recommends that each of the three LEAA funded desegregation projects be sustained. The following general recommendations are made with regard to the school desegregation process as a whole:

1) That a strong desegregation implementation network be developed, encouraged by the school department, the school committee, the mayor, the governor, the state Department of Education, and the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice. That the School Committee, the mayor, et. al., take far more initiative during the 1976-77 school year under the rubric of public safety and peace in the city.

2) That the Citywide Coordinating Committee (CCC) be replaced by a school ombudsman's office with one person (with perhaps a board of overseers) in charge; that the CCC staff be dismantled. The ombudsman would take complaints, hold hearings, preside over grievances, and be an arbiter of CPAC, CDAC, RPC grievances.

3) That there be an evaluation of university and business pairings with schools.

4) In recognition of the interaction between school protest and high unemployment, that programs be initiated to train and employ youths and young adults out of school.

5) That street youth work be expanded and improved. There is a need for really effective intervention with both white anti-busing and black youth gangs.

Citywide Educational Coalition:

1) That there be funding to increase the number of parent organizers for RPC's (these should ideally be a parent organizer for each school, an unrealistic goal) or, that the number of RPC's for each coordinator to organize be reduced.

2) That the newspaper be limited to specific recipients and that resources be directed into communication via other media.

3) That specific well-organized parent groups be placed under the jurisdiction of the technical assistance component.

4) That a black community liaison be hired to strengthen or develop ties to black community organizations much the way the Spanish information coordinator functions. This liaison would work with the number of black community organizations which serve several school districts. This could also be done for the Chinese community.

Freedom House Coalition:

1) Recommend funding for expanded information distribution, i.e., moving from a passive to more active information dispersal.

2) Funding for case advocates, to be trained by MAC.

3) Funding for parent "whips" to function like congressional "whips" who get out the party vote in congress. These parent organizers would cooperate with CWEC staff members to turn out all racial and ethnic groups to

parent meetings, but would focus on black parent participation.

Massachusetts Advocacy Center:

1) That suspension advocacy be maintained and that outreach be initiated to bring in cases.

2) That an outreach program be instituted to train, staff and coordinate satellite community advocacy units in black community agencies, e.g., Freedom House.

Postscript

Would changes in the Boston public schools have taken place without the intervention of three support and pressure groups in the city? The answer is yes, desegregation would probably have occurred in pretty much the same way, i.e., with a great deal of disruption and resistance. The results of the Citywide Educational Coalition, Freedom House Information Center, and Massachusetts Advocacy Center has been a real impact on the decisions of the Federal court by direct pressure; specific moves to fill voids left by reluctant decision-makers and administrators in the implementation of court orders; a softening of the resistance to school desegregation, by providing voices of moderation often lacking in public officialdom, by giving voice to the needs of citizens, and by supporting and aiding pro-implementation casualties of the desegregation process.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE EVALUATION PROCESS

THE EVALUATION PROCESS

Evaluation Criteria

Questions raised about the three private organizations in Boston, can be assessed using the following kinds of information:*

1. An outline of organizations and agencies in the city which participated in the school desegregation process.

2. The attitudes of organization participants and other community members about the three organizations and about desegregation.

3. Lists of organizational goals, compared to organizational activities; e.g., number of Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils organized and CWEC newsletter circulation; assessments of Freedom House information calls; assessments of Mass. Advisory Center case records.

Evaluation Research Methods

Interviews. The researcher conducted fifty interviews with project staff members and with persons who have been associated with the organizations and with Boston's desegregation effort. Table I summarizes information about the fifty persons who were interviewed for this study.

Interviews were loosely structured permitting a free dialogue about a person's familiarity with the projects and their work, the organizations' effectiveness in meeting goals, the process by which the organi-

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*It was a drawback to have different kinds of material available from each organization and different time periods from which information was drawn during the year.

zations carried out their work, and the way in which the projects interacted with other groups and similar projects in the city.

Field Observation. From January through May, 1976, the researcher visited the three projects, to observe on-going activities, to conduct interviews, to attend staff and community meetings, to gather documentary material, and to give some preliminary feedback to project personnel. The researcher also toured school districts with project personnel, visited schools, attended court sessions and school/parent meetings. Table II outlines only the more formal field observation events.

Analysis of Documents. Several sources were tapped for written documentary and numerical data for this evaluation study. The projects themselves were, of course, a source of such information; this included:

1) Project proposals, quarterly reports and memoranda

2) Project newsletters (CWEC)

3) Information telephone call logs (CWEC and Freedom House)

4) Case files (MAC)
(Note: these files were made available and used with extreme caution to protect client privacy.)

A principal source of background material included Boston's two main daily newspapers, the Boston Globe and the Boston Herald American, which present slightly different perspectives on the desegregation events. An extensive file of daily newspaper clippings was kept, which establish a framework of events from September 1, 1975 through June 30, 1976.

Other sources of data included court briefs provided by the Children's Defense Fund, documenting school suspensions in Boston, court reports, and School Department circulars (some gathered from Citywide Educational Coalition), and files of community members generously contributed to this evaluation.

TABLE I

INTERVIEWS

Boston Desegregation Projects' Evaluation, January - June, 1976.*

	No. Persons Interviewed
City Wide Educational Coalition (Pre-April 1 staff)	
Administrative Staff	3
Field Staff Coordinators Neighborhood	11
Mass. Advocacy Center	
Administrative Staff and Board Members	6
Case Advocates	6
Freedom House Information Center	
Freedom House Staff (4 administrators as a group at request of administrators)	5
Freedom House Coalition Members	4
Mayor's Office	
Mayor's Staff (2 staff members interviewed at once)	2
Staff member - Mayor's CCJ	1
LEAA Regional Office	
2 staff members in one interview	2
School Personnel and Members of Other Organizations	10
Total	50 interviews

*Interviews were held, for the most part, during field and project observation visits.

TABLE II

FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Boston Desegregation Projects Evaluation, January - June, 1976.*

Freedom House Site Visits including Community Meetings	5
School Meetings	5
School District Tours with School visits	6
MAC Site Visits including Staff Meetings	3
CWEC Site Visits including Staff Meetings	6
Court Visits	2
Total	27

*Formal school meetings and school district tours were arranged by CWEC staff members. The evaluator visited organizations and schools informally on other occasions.

APPENDIX

B

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CLIMATE

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CLIMATE

The Economic Picture

The depressed economic condition of the nation as a whole and of Boston in particular, helped create an unfavorable climate for Phase II desegregation and made the job of community organizations more difficult. The rate of unemployment, one indicator of economic conditions in the city, rose to a peak of 12.4 percent (seasonally adjusted) in June, 1975, compared to 8.6 percent nationally (see Diagram I.) By January, 1976 unemployment was still 11.4 percent of the city's workforce. And, in the midst of a national controversy about big city indebtedness, Boston's credit rating dropped from an "A" rating in the Moody index to "Baa", a change with potential impact on Boston's ability to borrow money. Although by June 1976 unemployment had decreased to 8.3 percent (compared to 7.5 percent nationally) economic considerations still played a role in the total atmosphere of stress placed on school desegregation.

The national and local economic picture had an impact on desegregation in several ways. First, economic recession is understood by social scientists to stimulate a particular kind of individual and sometimes collective normlessness, known as anomie. There is no intention here to digress into a discussion of anomie. Nevertheless, it is probable that unemployment, particularly high among teenagers in Boston (conservately estimated at 20 percent during the school year for 16 to 19 year olds and 25-30 percent during the summer), may have been a volatile circumstance even without school desegregation. Unemployment, combined with temporary and permanent school boycotts, intensified the climate for disruption.

Second, increased pressure for urban fiscal conservation placed financial stress upon new desegregation programs and upon the school system for salary increases and personnel cutbacks. Finally, the high cost of school transportation and police overtime

resulted in a threatened tax increase or the early closing of schools, and created fodder for the continued resistance of anti-desegregation forces. The current coincidence of city fiscal crises with desegregation has the potential to erode school innovations unless specific plans are made to avoid such a situation.

Fall and Winter Elections

> "All the people really want to talk about is busing, other issues are simply not that important to them. Until we, as public officials, deal with busing, nothing else matters." James Michael Connolly, City Council Candidate, Boston Globe, November 3, 1975.

Municipal elections during the fall of 1975 and the state presidential primary in March, 1976 were another element in the atmosphere surrounding Boston's school desegregation. Primary elections for the office of mayor, city council and school committee, were held on September 23, two weeks after school opened. General elections for these offices were held on November 4, 1975. The later Massachusetts presidential primary, held on March 2, 1976, was preceded by at least two months of active campaigning by presidential hopefuls. "Busing" was an important issue.

Primary and general elections created a climate for school desegregation in Boston in several ways. First, although Mayor White made a strong statement on September 3 about the swift punishment of school disrupters, neither the city administration nor city council members who control police and criminal justice services in the city, took strong initiatives to halt the school disruption which escalated in October and November. It is probable that the campaign for election necessitated low profiles on the part of municipal incumbents. As the Boston Globe put it in a headline on November 3: "Desegregation is the issue in Boston City Council Race." This was true for the race for mayor and the school committee, too.

The spring and summer of 1975 was full of speculation about candidates for office, anti-busing candidates received particular attention as announcements for candidacy were made by school committeeman John Kerrigan for city Council, and by ROAR leader Elvira Palladino for the school committee race.

Most candidates for municipal office based their campaigns on the school issue. Mayor White, who was on the defensive throughout the campaign, under attack by both anti-busing and pro-desegregation activists, announced his opposition to busing, even though busing had been the reality for a year. All but one of the 18 candidates seeking the nine city council seats in the general election announced their opposition to busing, in spite of the fact that the council has no direct authority over school desegregation.

In the first school committee election since the federal court assumed control over school racial policy-making, all ten candidates in the general election opposed busing to some degree, though there was a perceptible variation in positions. The bell-weather at the anti-busing end of the spectrum was Elvira (Pixie) Palladino, an East Boston ROAR leader who placed sixth in both the primary and general elections. The chief moderate was incumbent Kathleen Sullivan who had as her campaign slogan: "She's the one voting for the kids." She, however, devoted a fair amount of attention to the desegregation issue, and made a number of statements in opposition to busing. Sullivan finished first in the primary and topped the ticket in November with 81,393 votes. John O'Bryant, the only black candidate to make it into the general run-off, placed seventh in November with 45,556 votes.

So, devoting some attention to nuances, the more moderate anti-busing candidate topped the ticket, and the more extreme anti-buser finished last among those elected to the school committee. Boston's black community, however, was still unable to place a candidate in office. And, there was not enough white, pro-desegregation support to elect O'Bryant.

These muncipal election campaigns contributed to the milieu of Phase II desegregation, and the fall election results indicated the continued sentiment in opposition to desegregation among Boston's voters.

If the fall elections were both a contribution to and an indication of the atmosphere surrounding Phase II, the March U.S. presidential primary prolonged the experience. Although candidates expressing a range of sentiments campaigned in Massachusetts and throughout New England, the appearances of George Wallace probably attracted the most attention. The entire country looked forward to an expression of support for Wallace from anti-desegregation voters in Boston. Another candidate opposed to "forced busing", Henry "Scoop" Jackson, actually won the election, however, followed by U.S. Representative Morris Udall. Wallace placed third, probably indicating the dilution of the anti-desegregation vote by liberal suburban voters.

Intrabureaucratic Bickering and a Leadership Vacuum

Another aspect of the milieu surrounding school desegregation in 1975-76, was the lack of strong, consistent leadership in the city and in the public school system, the bickering which persisted within the Phase II City Coordinating Council (CCC), and among the school department administration, the school committee and the city administration. In the absence of strong leadership, cooperation and planning, decisions kept falling back upon the federal court. Judge Garrity made decisions with which few community organizational leaders were entirely happy. And, although the Judge could give directions, he did so from the courtroom, not with in-person, school by school or district by district familiarity.

On April 29, 1975, the Boston School Committee voted to replace school superintendent William J. Leary after his three year contract expired in August. Associate Superintendent, Marian J. Fahey was promoted from within the system to the position of superinten-

dent, beginning September 1, 1975. This created a lame duck situation during the planning of Phase II and probably generated undue expectations for an insider to perform according to the desires of the school committee. With her first day in office began an argumentative, adversary relationship between the school committee and Superintendent Fahey. For example, Superintendent Fahey's recommendations for school department appointments were disrupted on September 3, 1975; her acceptance of the position of "receiver" of South Boston High School on December 9 was opposed by the school committee as well as by anti-busing forces; Fahey's school security plan was opposed by the school committee and the Mayor's office on December 11, then adopted on the 15th; Fahey made disparaging remarks about the school committee to the Boston Herald American in February 1976; ROAR and members of the school committee demanded Fahey's resignation on February 4; Fahey was faulted in a dispute over teacher layoffs by school committeeman chairman McDonough on March 15, etc.

The Mayor of Boston, Kevin H. White, too, was heavily pressured by anti-busing forces during the fall election. Probably as a result, White's public pronouncements regarding the school situation were sparse and evidenced minimal support for school desegregation. For example, White vowed to oppose all Phase II troubles, on September 5, 1975; he took a campaign position in opposition to busing and skirted the issue of favoring the reconstituted of the Boston School Committee with a decentralized plan. On February 11, 1976 the Mayor hired an attorney to fight the 1974 Boston school desegregation decision in the U.S. Supreme Court; on April 6, the Mayor announced in the midst of wide spread street violence that the school department budget would be exhausted by May and that schools would have to close early; on April 27 the Mayor asked for metropolitan police assistance to fight street violence (42 have after a beating at City Hall Plaza, 8 have after a near fatal beating in Roxbury), and on April 28 nearly eight months after his September 5 statement, the Mayor formed a bi-racial task force to study racial violence in the city.

Two other features of city government contributed to the situation: (1) the criticism of the police force which carried over from Phase I and was aggravated by disputes with the Boston Patrolmen's Union, and (2) that the leader of the two principal anti-busing organizations, ROAR and Mass. Citizens Against Forced Busing were members of the city council (Hicks and Kerrigan) and permitted anti-busing organization meetings to be held in the city council chambers in city hall. These two circumstances undoubtedly placed pressure on school and city decision-makers.

The Boston School Committee did not come forward with leadership constructive to desegregation. Committee members ran for election in opposition to busing during the fall, maintaing resistance to Phase II activities. After the November election, the committee seemed to number more voices of moderation. The split between strong anti-busing advocates and moderates yielded the chairmanship of John McDonough who developed a stormy, unconstructive relationship with Superintendent Fahey.

Finally, the City Coordinating Council created in the spring of 1975 by the federal court to oversee the Phase II plan, culminated with disagreement throughout the year, rendering it nearly ineffective. This researcher interviewed several participants who agreed that the Council was too unwieldy to be effective, was split by factions, and was reminiscent of a staff which functioned unilaterally. Thus, the group which could have been the eyes and ears of Judge Garrity, which could have exerted some leadership pressure, faltered.

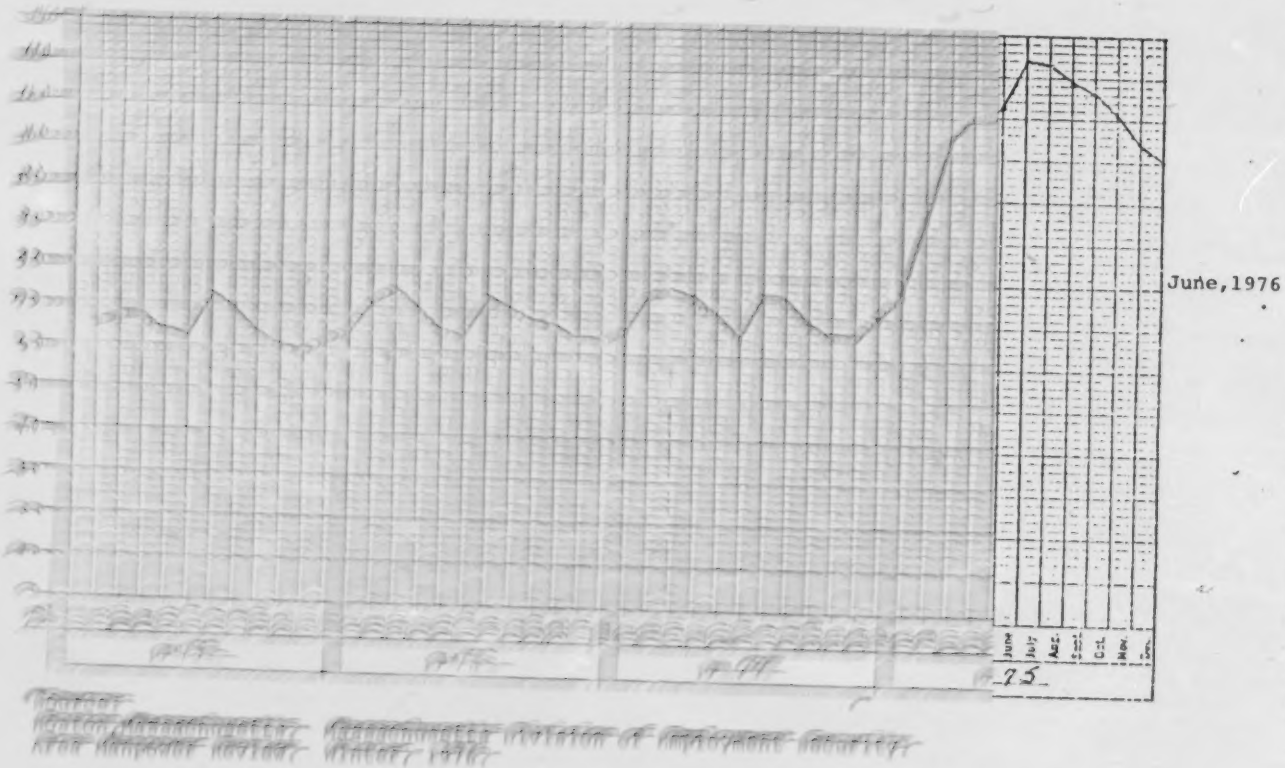
The lack of public support of desegregation[1]

The lack of support of school desegregation and the outright opposition to it by anti-busing groups

[1] It has been pointed out to this researcher that the relatively localized, exclusive nature of Boston's neighborhoods also made it difficult to break down barriers, to stimulate support for desegregation.

ratios was a key feature of the interrelated issues for Phase II. Two indicators of public sentiment were the voting statistics for the fall elections and the number of students being kept out of the Boston public schools during Phase II. Out of 216,251 votes cast for Boston school committee candidates in November, 1975, Elvira Palladino, the most easily identifiable anti-busing candidate, polled 57,774 or 11 percent of the total. This was a significant number of votes, five percentage points behind the top vote-getter Kathleen Sullivan, who polled 16 percent of the total votes cast. Black moderate candidate, John O'Bryant, however, polled 54,556 votes or 9 percent of the total votes cast, 2 percentage points behind Palladino. So, the election indicated a modification of opposition to desegregation at the polls, or at least a greater acceptance of the post-1974 status quo, than school boycotting and disruption might indicate. Moderates improved their positions, but the election of an outspoken anti-busing candidate was symbolic of the undercurrent of continued resistance to change.

The number of students who left the school system during 1974-75, because of school desegregation, is estimated to be 20,000. In addition to the much debated "white flight", it seems that white parents were opting much more in favor of sending children to private, suburban, parochial, and alternative schools rather than sending their children to school with [illegible] one of the truest indicators of resistance to school desegregation.


June, 1976

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF PHASE II EVENTS

CHRONOLOGY OF

PHASE II EVENTS*

September 1975

1	Ms. Marion Fahey, formerly associate school superintendent, assumes position as superintendent of Boston public schools.
3	Superintendent Fahey's first meeting with the School Committee ends in a round of criticism regarding her refusal to reappoint two School Department officials who had been involved in desegregation implementation, favored by school committeemen McDonough and Sullivan.
3	Mayor White vows to punish all Phase II troublemakers.
3	Federal district court enjoined new school disciplinary code (August 26, 1975) implementation, and directed all parties in desegregation suit to meet and agree on a new code.
8	First day of school, Phase II.
11	Racial disruptions at Charlestown High School.
12	1,000 mothers and children marched and prayed in "Mothers' Prayer Marches" in Charlestown, South Boston, Hyde Park, West Roxbury, North End.
13	300 mothers march against busing in Charlestown.

*Most events in this chronology were derived from mass media sources: newspapers, radio, T.V. broadcasts.

14	Again 300 mothers march against busing in Charlestown.
22	Desegregation case plaintiff and defendant negotiation about school disciplinary code draft. Later meetings took place on November 3 and December 15.
22-28	Week long teachers strike in defiance of court order; demands include 9% pay hike (3% over School Committee offer), increased job security, and pay for added work hours.
23	Primary elections for mayor, city council and school committee.

October 1975

1	70 mothers march and pray at Bunker Hill, Charlestown, at 11 a.m. 36 Charlestown High students suspended including 20 who joined mothers' march.
	60 students walked out of Brighton High School, half returned later. Student fights at Brighton High and at Taft Middle School across the street.
24	125 white Charlestown High students stage sitdown strike. Black students are sent home.
27	White students boycott South Boston High and Charlestown High.
	South Boston anti-busing march and rally attended by organized labor and most city council candidates.

November 1975

4	Mayoral, city council and school committee elections.

1-13+	U.S. Sentate Judiciary Committee hearings on proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit busing; Bostonians testify.
5	Arrests and suspensions continue in city high schools.
10	50 black students gathered at 8:30 a.m. in "unauthorized assembly" at Charlestown High, 2 arrested.
	50 whites refuse to enter South Boston High and L Street Annex, disperse.
	Boston school system attendance: 73% or 53,690 out of projected 73,549 students.
14	George Meany tells local AFL-CIO locals to change anti-busing positions.
21	Garrity begins hearing NAACP motion to close South Boston High.
23-25	150 white Charlestown High School students boycott.

December 1975

9	Federal District Court Judge Garrity puts South Boston High School in receivership.
	NAACP criticizes school disciplinary code; new code proposal is almost complete.
11	Superintendent Fahey's school security plan opposed by School Committee and Mayor's office.
15	White students walk out of South Boston High to practice what they would do if racial disturbances occurred at the school.

16 School Committee adopts Fahey school security plan.

U.S. House Democrats table proposed anti-busing constitutional amendment, under pressure from George Meany, AFL-CIO.

January 1976

2 Desegregation suit plaintiffs' negotiated proposal for new school disciplinary code submitted to federal district court.

7 Busing foes meet secretly with Ronald Reagan in Manchester, New Hampshire.

9 1,000 jam George Wallace kick-off rally in evening at Statler Hilton.

20 300 demonstrate in front of East Boston High School against fall integration of that school (last neighborhood high school to be integrated).

21 Hundreds of youths demonstrate at East Boston High for second consecutive day.

21-22 Hyde Park High "melee" involving several hundred black and white students. Worst violence at the school since desegregation began; nobody understands why; school closed.

22 White students demonstrate at Charlestown (20) and East Boston (350) High Schools.

26 Hyde Park High reopens.

100 Charlestown whites walk out of school.

Busing begins in Detroit, Michigan.

27 George Wallace addresses East Boston crowd of 300.

February 1976

1 School Committee chairman McDonough suggests Superintendent resign.

4 ROAR demands that Fahey quit in "stormy" School Committee meeting.

9 School Committee proposes dropping 1,100 school jobs.

10 13 mothers fined for their childrens' truancy in Charlestown District Court.

11 Mayor White names Robert Herzstein, a Washington, D.C. attorney, to fight school desegregation decision before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Former School Committeeman Ellison indicted, tried and freed for misuse of office.

12 Citywide Coordinating Council (city-wide citizen council under Phase II), final hearing in series of district hearings, disrupted at English High by anti-busers, ROAR.

14 Men's March against busing ends in two hours of street fighting between pro-testers and police in South Boston, 13 arrested, 10 injured.

20 George Wallace addresses 1,000 South Boston supporters.

22 Jerome Winegar, a Minnesota school principal, selected as South Boston High headmaster, waits for final

approval. Replacement of headmaster was part of receivership order.

24 School Committee hearings on school budget which must be approved by April 1.

25 Louise Day Hicks tells U.S. Senate panel that though opposed to busing, she supports federal aid to desegregation, a position different from that of ROAR which she heads.

Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC) holds, police protected, District IX hearings at Brighton High School.

28 Second Mens' March against busing in South Boston.

March 1976

2 Massachusetts Presidential primary election; Henry Jackson tops Democratic poll; President Gerald Ford is Republican winner.

Boston School Committee hearings on school budget.

8 School Committeewoman Elvira (Pixie) Palladino ousted from ROAR, refuses to quit.

500 students boycott East Boston High School.

12 Suffolk Superior Court allows School Department to layoff 760 teachers in dispute with Boston Teachers Union; Garrity must still approve of move.

14 12 South Boston mothers face truancy charges.

15 Court case, in behalf of black candidates, challenging constitutionality of "at large" election of School Committee begins in federal district court, before Judge Tauro.

School Committee chairman McDonough blames Superintendent Fahey for blunder in which 220 dismissed teachers will have to be retained.

19-20 Garrity retains teachers School Department was to fire; discusses promotional-rating system.

22 33 teachers failed to show-up for classes in protest over dismissal of 4 temporary teachers at Jeremia E. Burke High School, Dorchester.

100 students suspended at Burke High in walkout after teachers fail to show up.

23 Boston Globe airs high cost of desegregation: Phase I costs totaled $23,492,000; Phase II could top $33,111,900.

24 Globe devotes page one attention to suspensions. Phase I suspensions numbered 10,352; Phase II suspensions so far number 3,300 (a figure which does not correspond to School Department totals) probably will not go higher than year preceding desegregation (4,827); middle schools are viewed as worst disciplinary problem.

April 1976

5 Theodore Landsmark, black attorney-contractor, beaten in front of Boston City Hall by white anti-busing students.

9	Mayor announces school department budget will be exhausted by May 16 and schools may have to close early.
13	Home and School Association appeals Garrity desegregation order to U.S. Supreme Court.
15	Eight Boston Technical High School students attacked by black youths at Roxbury gym.
19	Poleet, white motorist, beaten by black youths while driving through Roxbury.
20	Blacks meet in City Hall to plan pro-busing march.
	Two black youths arrested for Poleet beating.
	Black youths stone cars in Mattapan.
21	NAACP lawyer praises public school "stability" under Garrity order; 80% of Boston's schools are within racial guidelines; only 7 of 162 schools (this study counts 161 schools) are acutely racially identifiable.
23	Anti-busing march in Washington, D.C.
	"Procession for Peace" held in Boston, organized by Mayor.
26	Lowest student attendance since September 1975 teachers strike; citywide attendance down by 9,000 to 47,000; South Boston attendance down 50%.
	First day on job for Jerome Winegar, headmaster, South Boston High School; Winegar disbursed crowd of 200 white students, 2 arrested; bomb scare at

South Boston High at 10 a.m.

27 Mayor White asks for MDC police to help combat racial street violence.

School Committee is ordered by Suffolk Superior Court Judge Zarrow to rehire 40 laid-off school aides.

School attendance rises to 79.3%, with 54,130 pupils in school.

Bomb threats at four schools: Hyde Park High, L Street Annex, English High, William B. Rogers Middle School (in Hyde Park).

29 Mayor White forms anti-racism, peace coalition of dignitaries to combat racial outbreaks (Task Force on Violence); 21 blacks and whites have been injured in 81 stonings since April 1.

30 Melee at Hyde Park High School.

May 1976

2 1,500 attend anti-busing rally in Charlestown.

3 City Council votes youth curfew.

Judge Garrity unveils plans for Phase IIB, Fall 1976, including non-integration of East Boston High.

5 Black residents of the Maverick project in East Boston ask Boston Housing Authority to transfer them because of attacks by a white gang which calls itself "KKK Jr."

6 ROAR in dispute with Cardinel Medeiros regarding his statements about anti-busing, violence in South Boston.

7 (Boston Police Department announce receipt of $20,650 LEAA grant for overtime duty in Boston's housing projects.)

12 Mayor White vetoes youth curfew.

School Committee approves residency requirements for Boston School staffs.

TABLE III

FEDERAL, STATE, AND MUNICIPAL AGENCIES
INVOLVED IN BOSTON'S SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, 1975-76.

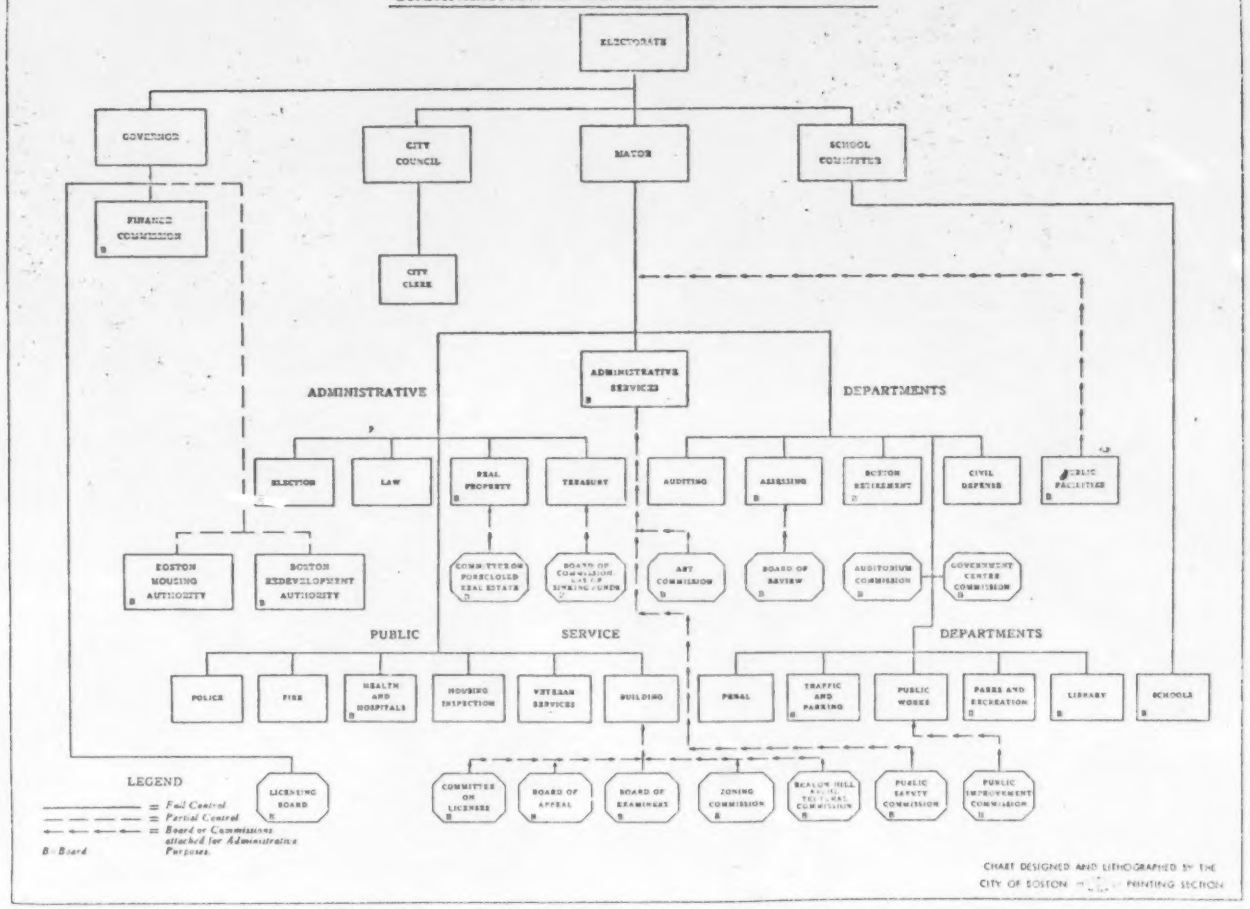
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	STATE GOVERNMENT	MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
Department of HEW Office of Civil Rights Office for Children Citywide Advisory Council (CWAC) (under Emergency School Aid Act)	Governor	Mayor
Justice Department FBI LEAA	General Court (House and Senate) State Attorney General	Administrative Services Department Little City Halls Health and Hospitals Legal Assistance Office
Federal District Court, Massachusetts (Garrity)	State Department of Education	Mayor's Office on Criminal Justice
Citywide Coordinating Council (CCC)	State Police	Office of Human Rights
Citywide Parents Advisory Council (CPAC)	Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice	Youth Activities Commission
District Advisory Councils (one for each of 9 school districts) (CDAC)	Massachusetts Committee Against Discrimination	Police Department City Council School Committee School Department
Racial-Ethnic Parent Councils (RPC) (one for each of 161 schools)		Home and School Association* (one for each school)
College and University Pairings		Parent, Teachers, Student* Association (PTA) (one for each school)
Trilateral Task Force of Business Leaders		*Officially independent, functionally dependent

APPENDIX D

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS IN BOSTON'S SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

DIAGRAM II

ORGANIZATION OF BOSTON'S CITY GOVERNMENT *



*Source: City of Boston, Municipal Register. Boston, Massachusetts, 1974-75.

TABLE IV

ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN BOSTON'S SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, 1975-76.

INTER-DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS	DISTRICT I ALLSTON-BRIGHTON-MISSION HILL
Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) Alliance for Coordinated Services American Friends Service Committee Aswalos House Backbay Ledger #Baystate Banner Big Brothers and Big Sisters #Black Educators Alliance #Black Ministerial Alliance Boston Community School Boston Legal Aid Society-Legal Assistance Project Bos-Line Council-Help for Children Catholic Archdiocesan Human Rights Commission Catholic Youth Organization Center for Urban Studies, Harvard Charles Drew Health Center Childrens' Advocates Childrens' Defense Fund Childrens' Services Association Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPAX) City Missionary Society Citywide Educational Coalition Clubs: Boys Clubs, Girls Club Committee Against Racism #Coordinated Social Services (Freedom House) Dennison House EDCO Educational Training Collaborative #Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts Family Counselling & Guidance Center Family Services Association #Freedom House Fuller Community Mental Health Center (Boston University) Greater Boston Association for Retarded Children HOPE Judge Baker Guidance Center League of Women Voters Lena Park Massachusetts Advocacy Center	Allston-Brighton Citizens Committee Allston-Brighton Mental Health Center Allston-Brighton Multipurpose Center Allston Civic Association Boston University Tutorial Cultural Educational Collaborative Fenway Civic Association Mission Hill Task Force New Life Pentecostal Church University/Business Pairings: Boston University Honeywell, Inc. City Agencies: Allston-Brighton Little City Hall Youth Activities Commission

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

*Massachusetts Citizens Against Forced Busing Massachusetts Coalition for Human Rights Massachusetts State Labor Council (AFL-CIO) Montessori School #NAACP National Student Coalition Against Racism *Restore Our Aliented Rights (ROAR) #Roxbury Ecumenical Center School Volunteers for Boston YMCA's	

*Anti-busing Organizations
#Minority organizations whose services overlap school districts

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

DISTRICT II JAMAICA PLAIN	DISTRICT III WEST ROXBURY-ROSLINDALE
Agassiz Community School Building A Council of Community Organizations Cultural Educational Collaborative (Roosevelt & Middle School) EDCO Eliot Family Health Center Help for Children Jamaica Plain Citizen Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Houses Kiwanis Mental Health Outreach Roxbury YMCA	Cultural Educational Collaborative (Shaw School) EDCO-Ethnic Workshops Educational Training Collaborative #Lena Park Massachusetts Advocacy Center *Roslindale Information Center Southwest Boston Services West Roxbury Civic and Improvement Association *West Roxbury Information Center West Roxbury Transcript
University/Business Pairings Curry College Simmons College Boston Gas, Co. Travelers' Insurance Co.	University/Business Pairings: Boston College New England Merchant's Bank
City Agencies: Jamaica Plain Little City Hall	City Agencies: Franklin Field, Mattapan Roslindale, and West Roxbury Little City Halls Youth Activities Commission, Roslindale & West Roxbury

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

DISTRICT IV HYDE PARK-NORTH DORCHESTER- MATTAPAN	DISTRICT V LOWER ROXBURY-DORCHESTER CENTER- NEPONSET
Community Task Force on Education (1974-75) Cultural Educational Collaborative EDCO-Parents Resource Center Hyde Park Tribune *Hyde Park Information Center (ROAR) Hyde Park High Parents Information Line (bi-racial) #Lena Park Peoples' Task Force	Alliance for Coordinated Services Dorchester Citizen Dorchester House Dunna Educational Task Force Fields' Corner Neighborhood Association Freedom House Rama Day Care Roxbury Teen Center Shaw House
University/Business Pairings: Stonehill College First National Bank City Agencies: Youth Activities Commission	University/Business Pairings: Boston State College University of Massachusetts New England Mutual Life Insurance Company New England Telephone Company

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

DISTRICT VI SOUTH BOSTON-COLUMBIA POINT-DORCHESTER	DISTRICT VII MADISON PARK: CHARLESTOWN, NORTH END, CHINATOWN, BEACON HILL, BACK BAY, SOUTH END
#Columbia Point Tenant Association Cultural Educational Collaborative Little House Labore Center #Roxbury Multi-Service Center -Teen Center *South Boston Information Center (ROAR) South Boston Neighborhood House *South Boston Tribune	Blackstone Square Community School Council Boston University Consultation and Education Program Cardinal Cushing Center for the Spanish Speaking *Charlestown Information Center Charlestown Boys Club Charlestown Community Center #Chinese Parents Association Community Educational Resource Center Cooper Community Center #El Comite de Padres (multi-district) HELP #Hispanic Alliance Kennedy Family Center, Charlestown *North End Information Center *Powder Keg Information Center Quincy School Community Council Roxbury A.P.A.C. SEPAC SNAP United North End Settlements (Harriet Tubman House) YWCA
University/Business Pairings: University of Massachusetts Gillette Co., Safety Razor Division	University/Business Pairings: Bunker Hill Community College Harvard University Northeastern University Liberty Mutual Insurance Co. State Street Bank

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

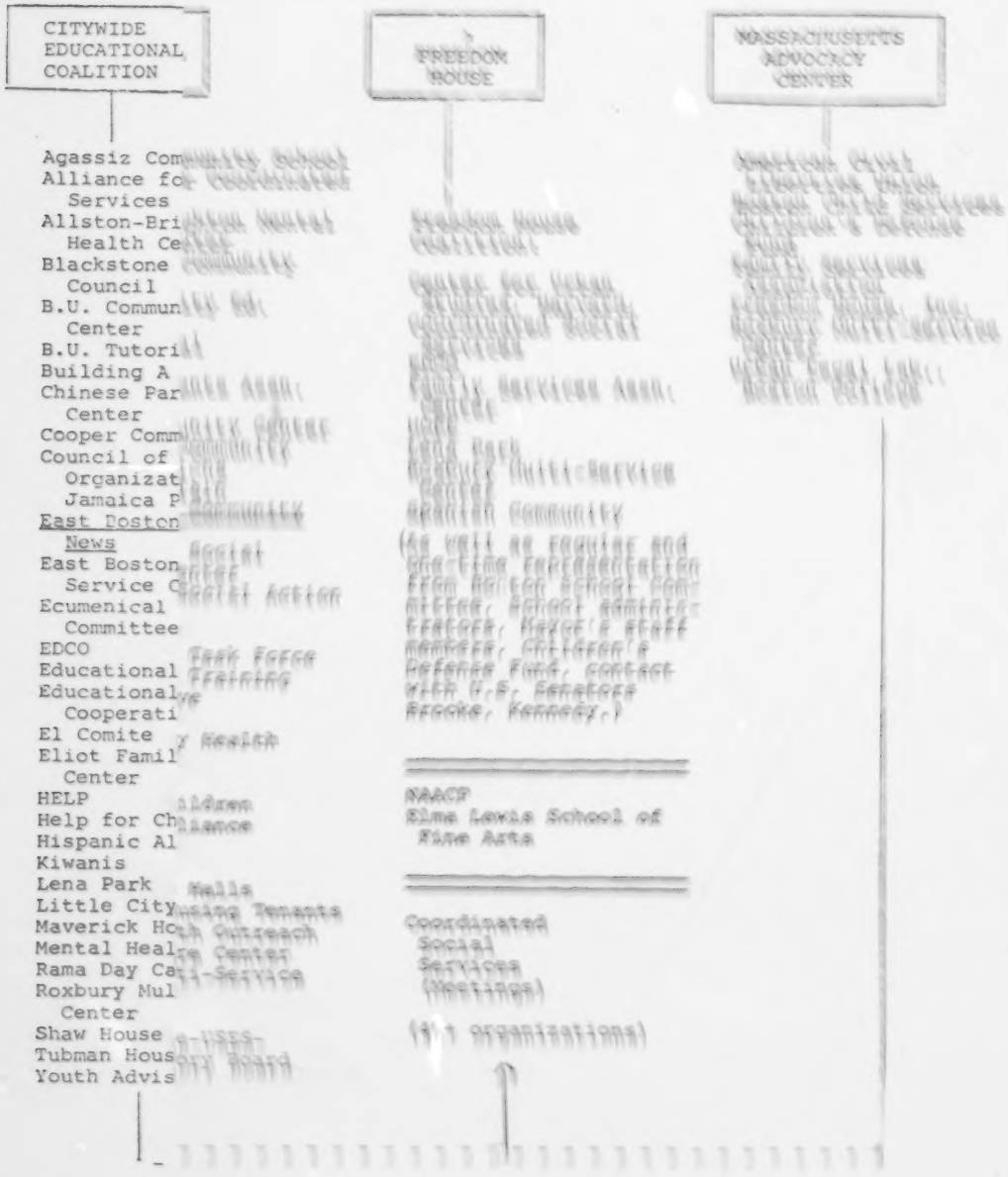
DISTRICT VIII EAST BOSTON	DISTRICT IX CITYWIDE MAGNET SCHOOLS
East Boston Community News APAC East Boston Crisis Center *East Boston Information Center East Boston Neighborhood Council East Boston Social Service Center Land Use Advisory Board Little Folks Day Care	Organizations here overlap other districts and citywide organizations but include: Animal Rescue League Boston Zoological Society (Franklin Park) Children's Museum Museum of Comparative Zoology Museum of Science Museum of Transportation University/Business Pairings: Brandeis University Emerson College Emanuel College Lesley College Mass. College of Pharmacy MIT Northeastern University Regis College Suffolk University Tufts University Wellesley College Wheelock College Blue Cross Blue Shield Boston Edison Co. Federal Reserve Bank IBM John Hancock Legement Laboratories Mass Port Authority National Shawmut Bank Prudential Insurance Co.

TABLE IV - CONTINUED

ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF BOSTON	?
*Citizens for Responsible Education in Winchester *Dedham Information Center *South Shore Citizens Aganist Forced Busing	

DIAGRAM III

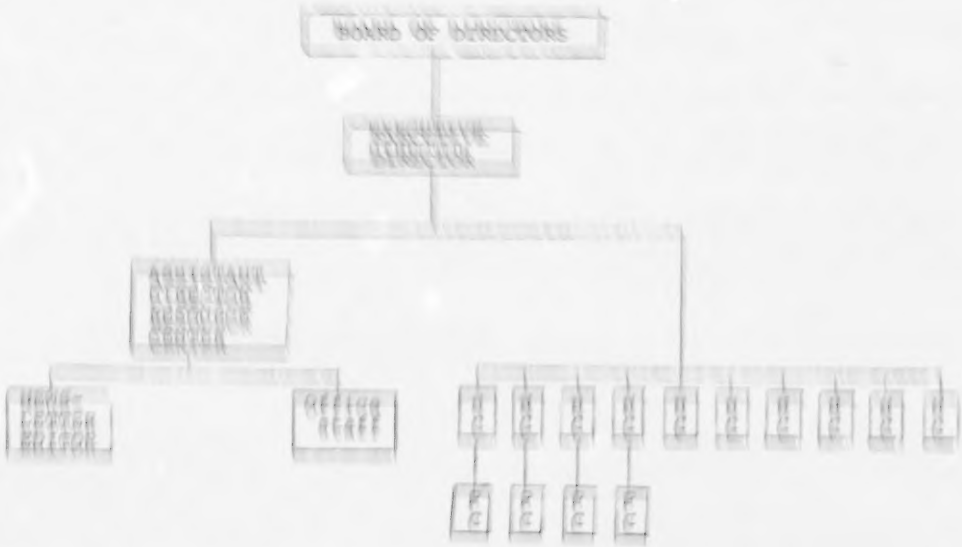
INTERACTION NETWORK OF THREE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN BOSTON, 1975-76



APPENDIX E
CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION DATA

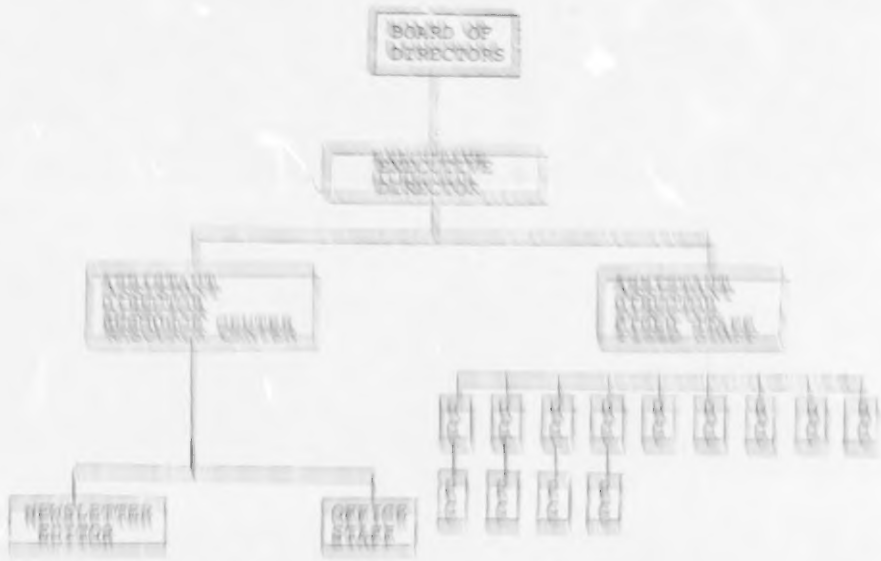
DIAGRAM IV
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
CITY-WIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION

SEPTEMBER, 1975



Notes: NC = Neighborhood Coordinator
PC = Parent Counsellor

DIAGRAM V
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION
FEBRUARY, 1976



Note: DC = District Coordinator
PC = Parent Coordinator

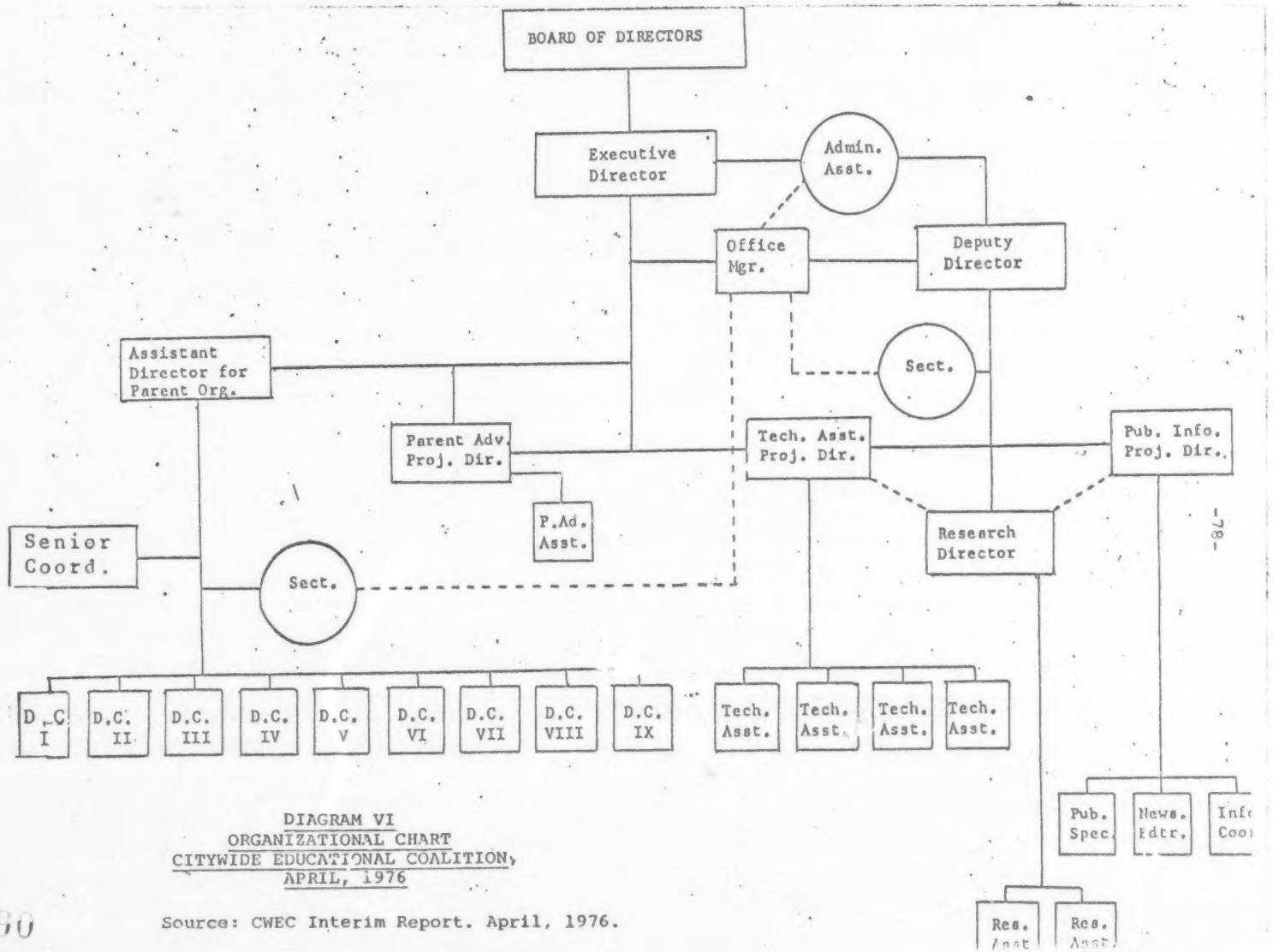


DIAGRAM VI
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION,
APRIL, 1976

Source: CWEC Interim Report. April, 1976.

-78-

CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION

GOALS

SEPTEMBER, 1975

1) Maintain a fully staffed and professionally run Resource Center on relevant public school issues to a) serve as administrative headquarters for all C.W.E.C. staff and activities, b) publish and distribute twenty to fifty thousand (20/50,000) copies of the C.W.E.C. newsletter, "Coalition," and c) answer, investigate, refer, and further follow-up on the legitimately expressed concerns of parent, student, citizen, teacher, and administrator contracts.*

2) Create and attempt to promote a specific "climate and agenda of moderation" within which all children can go to and return home from school in peace during the implementation of Judge W. Arthur Garrity's Phase II desegregation order.

3) Work to assure citizen involvement in the development, alteration, and eventual maintenance of proper public safety measures so as to assure the safety of all school children transported under Phase II.

4) Further develop its growing network of active citizen/parent/student involvement groups on the local school site level in an attempt to promote educational reform through consumer participation in urban educational policy-making.

*Staff members of CWEC pointed out to the researcher in 1976 that the Resource Center helped to generate the organization's field staff. The field staff also drew upon Resource Center information throughout its existence.

CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION

GOALS

MARCH, 1976

LONG TERM:

1. To establish a strong and active parent coalition within the City of Boston to deal with educational matters and to produce changes in the school system.

2. To establish an active parent organization/ organizations within all schools of the City. To especially concentrate on the RPC's.

3. To procure enough funds in order to do all of the projects that the Coalition staff and the Board deem necessary.

SHORT TERM:

1. By the end of 1976 to have active multi-ethnic councils operating in all of the Boston Public Schools.

2. To have the re-organization plan working and functioning to the benefit of those to be served.

3. To, either through the Courts or through Garrity, or the School Department establish some legal status for the RPC's, the CDAC's, the CPAC, etc. We must also make our own individual decision as an organization to which of the groups which we feel will have the greatest impact for change.

4. To continue to act as an informational, referral and crisis intervention resource agency to the Parents of the City.

5. To accomplish all of the goals set down in the 636 proposal.

6. To begin to make parents part of the decision making process rather than the advisory process.

7. To have some mechanism begin to be established so parents/teachers form a more cohesive unit relative to school problems, such as consolidation.

8. Begin to plan for new RPC, CDAC, and CPAC elections and to identify persons willing to serve in these groups.

9. To develop a series of in-house workshops to deal with specific matters - Voc. Ed., 766, 622 etc., and other major matters of concern as they arise.

10. The need to have some support mechanism or ongoing relationship developed between the Board members who represent a specific area of the City and those of the field staff who represent these areas.

11. That there needs to be some transitional time for those persons who will be leaving field staff positions to take over newly created positions. There will be a need to train the incoming staff members who will take over field responsibilities as well as the new members of the office staff.

ALREADY DISCUSSED GOALS

1. The need for a Hispanic bilingual coordinator to serve city-wide.

2. That the organizing component is the main element of the organization and must be retained under the re-organization plan.

3. That neighborhood coordinators continue to involve themselves, personally in one of the major council activities - CPAC, CDAC or RPC.

NARRATIVE: CWEC ACTIVITIES

1975-1976

In August, 1975, the Citywide Educational Coalition joined with other community groups in organizing an open house for parents at Charlestown High School. Over 400 Chinese, black, white and Hispanic parents took buses from the South End, Chinatown, and Lower Roxbury to Charlestown.

The first day of school at Charlestown, however, was like an armed camp. The crisis at the school crystalized black parents and was a tangible issue around which CWEC coordinators could organize. However, other community groups also saw the events as an opportunity to participate, and there was some vying for support positions in District VII. The Community Education Resource Center helped crisis teams gain entree into Charlestown High. But, there were also participants with leadership status, who had no followers or constituencies, who attempted crisis intervention, too.

The aim at Charlestown High was to keep black students from becoming targets for white student aggression. When this was successful, however, white youths then fought with the police at night.

In this crisis, and throughout the year, black community members tended to view CWEC as a white organization while the Spanish-speaking and anti-busing protesters viewed the organization as pro-busing, pro-NAACP. (The Hispanic community tended to be anti-NAACP). In the black community, CWEC worked more with individuals rather than agencies or groups.

In other districts where there were crises in high schools during the fall, neighborhood coordinators functioned in much the same way, responding to the crisis parallel to other organizations, monitoring the situation, dialoguing with school officials and leaders of community groups, attempting to organize support activities for minority group studerts and parents (since white students were most often resisting the desegregation process). A neighborhood coordinator commented about that period:

"due to safety concerns, educational issues have ranked second to safety."

Other issues during the fall were routine requests for information and for assistance to parents whose children were misassigned and who wanted special transfers, e.g., for bi-lingual classes or for special educational programs, and other activities in generally peaceful districts.

Because of the continual crises in Boston's high schools, neighborhood coordinators began to devote more time to activities at the elementary and middle school levels. One coordinator said quite frankly: "I decided to forget about the high schools and concentrate on elementary schools. Its too late for the parents of high school students. They'll be gone too soon. I decided to concentrate on the parents of elementary kids who'll be around for a while."

After the first of the year, field activities paralleled processes going on within the Citywide Educational Coalition. The field staff director was hired in December by agreement of the staff. In addition to regular responsibilities, the staff and their new administrator spent the next three months sorting out responsibilities and mutual obligations. In the meantime, staff members participated in school Racial-Ethnic Parent Council meetings, District Advisory Council meetings and city-wide council meetings; contacted council members, providing information (often not supplied by the school department), transportation, follow-up, at different district organizational levels. The work of a coordinator consisted of making telephone calls (field staff members were often unlisted due to anti-busing harassment), circulating from school to school, and attending an endless number of meetings (see Table V). During this period there was a flow of school department and federal court documents through the coordinators to parents at schools. The CWEC newspaper published approximately 10,000 copies monthly, with written contributions from CWEC staff members.*

In February and March staff members continued the

*The evaluator developed a great deal of personal respect for district coordinators as she followed them on their rounds and participated in staff meetings.

rounds of meetings which focused on several issues stimulated by new federal court guidelines and school department circulars. The issues included, "promotional rating", i.e., school administrative positions to be screened and rated by ad hoc groups with parent representation; vocational and special education guidelines; bilingual education guidelines; and the consolidation of schools as the result of a decline in school enrollment. Superintendent Fahey, viewed critically by the organization, circulated to district council meetings where CWEC members raised questions. At a meeting of two hundred parents and teachers at the Taft Middle School in Brighton, for example, the CWEC coordinator and field staff supervisor asked Fahey several questions about the criteria for grade level student performance and about special education facilities. CWEC staff members belonged to RPC's, CDAC's and to the CCC.

CWEC was critical of the CCC because it was an unwieldy and disorganized group. CWEC staff members who were members of the CCC remained in the body and criticized it from within. In March, CWEC executive director was a panel member at CCC hearings about Phase II. The last hearing session at English High was disrupted by anti-busing protesters. The rescheduled meeting, held at Brighton High School, which was ringed by police and FBI officers, and where participants were searched before entering, was more successful.

In February and March it was evident that there was resistance to CWEC parent organizing in East Boston, Hyde Park, West Roxbury and in South Boston, although CWEC staff members participated in training sessions run by Educational Training Cooperative at schools throughout the city.

In April the reorganization of the Coalition preoccupied staff members. Staff training sessions, held every other week, were devoted to feelings about the changes. The air at CWEC was tense. There was unexpressed resentment about staff shifts, selfconsciousness on the part of some staff members in new positions, and disagreements which led during the next few months, to a few staff dismissals.

The creation of new parent organizations had come to a halt. Instead, new and old field staff members stimulated existing groups, participated in meetings, provided copies of school department documents and CWEC pamphlets which explained evolving school policy. At meetings at the Mackey School in District 9, for example, the CWEC coordinator painstakingly participated in discussions about the school's university pairing proposal for 1976-77, and contributed material about the Phase II system for assessing new school programs. When the school department issued elaborate booklets and forms to parents for making pupil placement selections for 1976-77, CWEC issued its own pamphlet explaining the school department pamphlet.

In April, the screening of potential public school administrators was under way at a number of schools (the final approval of these selections, by the Boston School Committee is being carried out as I write in August 1976). This process went smoothly in some schools. In other schools the process was subject to resistence, manipulation and interference by school district administrators. One CWEC district coordinator commented:

> There's lots of interference and resistance from school administrators, especially at three schools where there are male administrators, acting principals: The (X), the (Y), and the (Z) schools.
>
> These acting administrators are applying for jobs, manipulating downtown to keep their positions. CDAC has named one or two...acting administrators who CDAC wants <u>not</u> to be hired as permanent administrators. These are principals who are actively subverting the desegregation process.
>
> (At one school) the acting administrator permits hall wandering and classroom disruption to escalate. Kids are being beaten up; rumors spread. The administrator has the support of white parents in the district and he seems to be waiting for desegregation to collapse.

> Everybody is waiting for desegregation to collapse by not cooperating with it, resisting doing the best possible job, until they think the program will collapse.

Thus, although participation in desegregation and parent organizations succeeded in many elementary schools, the process in some middle and high schools was tenuous.

TABLE V

CITY-WIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION
Field Staff Activities, 1975-76*

COMMUNITY RESOURCE/ INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE	CATALYST/PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN PRO-IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITIES	ACTUAL PARTICIPATION	AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS WORKED WITH
.Witness for a parent	.Enlisted volunteers to monitor bus pick-up points	.CDAC involvement	.Ecumenical Social Action Committee, Jamaica Plain
.Helped in housing problems	.Helped organize neighborhood safety teams	.Member of Interview Committee for district coordinator.	.Little City Hall
.Dissemination of special education* procedures	.Organizing for CDAC elections	.Liaison to CDAC from District safety team about transportation.	.Help for Children
.Have given information to parents that they should have been given by other sources	.A lot of hand holding	.I'm on the R.P.C.	.Mental Health Outreach.
.Dissemination of school district business to RPC's and other interested individuals, including principals	.Working with some of the parents to set up the school library	.I am a member of the steering committee for the new Southwest II	.Agassiz Community School.
.Information circulation to CDAC - materials, circulars they should have received from elsewhere and did not; programs that parents should know about and don't (circular #33 ex.) has been a large part.	.Actively involved with supporting CDAC in districts.	.I have begun to establish my credibility in the community by becoming active in the CDAC.	.Youth Advisory Board
.Took it upon myself to see that each local bi-racial council received a copy of circular #33.	.South Boston High, Instructional Task Force set up by Superintendent Fahey.	.Was involved in the Committee to retain John Coakley as Area Superintendent.	.Council of Community Organizations, Jamaica Plain.
	.Recruited parents to man bus stops.		.EDCO project which involves representatives from many of the district schools, and now the Resource Center project.
	.Arranging transportation to CDAC & RPC meetings for interested parents.		.Title I City-wide Board.

*Source: Staff reports, interviews. Read down columns, not across.

COMMUNITY RESOURCE/ INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE	CATALYST/PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN PRO-IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITIES	ACTUAL PARTICIPATION	COOPERATIVE AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
.Sent out a report on the seriousness of consolidation to all bi-racial council members (in District). .Good rapport with district superintendent and his staff, as well as individual school administrators. .Materials about school transfers and assignments for Spanish speaking, disseminated via El Comite organization. .Investigating racial problems at Charlestown High. .Setting up informational meeting on RPC elections. .Obtaining and translating information on schools, legal procedures, assignments, transfers, translation into Spanish. .Sharing of information from other programs. .Moral support/trouble shooting, Maverick Housing Project racial harassment incidents; liaison between police, city of Boston officials, tenants; documented incidents for FBI;	.Working with CDAC as non-member in organizing internal structure; community & schools liaison with the council. .Helping crisis team members gain access and transportation to Charlestown High. .Arranging transportation to open houses in Charlestown. .Setting up Youth Center at YWCA for Charlestown students. .Organizing Charlestown Minority Student Council. .Cooling off minority students after major racial incidents at Charlestown High. .Setting mass meeting for parents of bussed students.	.Involvement with EDCO, organization of Parents Resource Center, outgrowth of EDCO workshops. .Heavily involved in CDAC, and am the CPAC representative. .CCC member.	.EDCO group formed last summer. .Shaw House. .Rama Day Care Center. .Multi-Service Teen Center. .El Comite-organizing information centers. .Setting up RPC election meetings with Hispanic members with Cooper Community Center, BU Community Education Center, Hispanic Alliance. .Working with BU crisis team assigned to Charlestown High. .Mass meeting for parents at Cooper Community Center.

COMMUNITY RESOURCE/ INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE	CATALYST/PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN PRO-IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITIES	ACTUAL PARTICIPATION	COOPERATIVE AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
Community relations meetings with police; shared in community patrol to report roving gangs to police.			

TABLE VI
CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION
Information, Rumor Control Center
Telephone Calls, August 11 - December 26, 1975*

Date	No. Hours	Total No. Calls	Peak Hours	Peak Days	Peak Issues
August 11-15	54	± 560	8-10 a.m.	None	assignments, transportation
18-22	54	± 620	8-10 a.m. 3-5 p.m.	None	assignments, transportation, transfers
25-29	54	± 730	8-10 a.m.	Thursday & Friday	same
September 2-6	64	± 880	8-10 a.m. 3-6 p.m.	Friday	assignments, transportation, harassment
8-13	75	±1320	7-10 a.m. 2-5 p.m. 7-9 p.m.	all	rumors, harassment, transportation, assignments, transfers
15-20	74	±1080	7-10 a.m. 2-4 p.m.	Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday	rumors, transportation, harassment, assignments, transfers, teachers' strik
22-26	67	± 910	8-10 a.m.	none 3-5 p.m.	transportation, rumors, harassment, citizen participation elections, transfers, teachers' strike
29-	54	± 750	9-10 a.m. 2-4 p.m.	none	citizen partici tion elections, transportation, transfers, teachers' strik
October 6-10	50	± 650	none	none	citizen partici pation electio
13-17	50	± 580	none	none	none
Total- 52	596	±8080			

Average calls per week: 808

Average calls per day: 155.4

Average calls per hour: 14.8

October 20 - December 26, 1975.

Total days: 45
Total hours: 405
Total calls: ± 5200
Average calls per week: 520
Average calls per day: 115.5
Average calls per hour: 12.8

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*Source: CWEC Interim Report to MCCJ.

CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS
SEPTEMBER, 1975-JUNE, 1976

1. VOLUNTARY TRANSFER DOCUMENT - September 1975
Prepared for parents and students explaining the transfer order from the Court, who is eligible to transfer, and how to apply.

2. SAFETY AND SECURITY DOCUMENT - September 1975
Explanation of the Safety and Security Plan as submitted to the Court by Superintendent of Schools, Marion Kahey.

3. PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PROMOTIONAL RATING PROCESS - March 1976
The order of the Court mandating parent participation in the selection of permanent principals/headmasters. Written in non-legal form for parents, students and teachers. Also available in Spanish.

4. HIRING YOUR SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: A GUIDE FOR PARENTS - April 1976
A further explanation of the promotional rating process. Suggestions to community screening committees about their task, including the writing of a job description. Includes a glossary of terms for those on these committees. Also available in Spanish.

5. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT TO THE COALITION NEWSLETTER - March 76
A summary of the State/School Department Unified Vocational Education Plan. Explanation of programs and their locations. Special emphasis placed on programs that are beginning in 1976-77.

6. CHAPTER 636 DOCUMENT - May 1976
A guide for parents, teachers and other persons on Chapter 636. Includes information on where the money comes from, who can write proposals, who reviews them, and who ultimately approves them. Also includes a list of resource telephone numbers.

7. BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS ANNUAL REPORT: Responsibilities of C.D.A.C.'s and R.E.P.C.'s - May 1976
Prepared for parents who, in cooperation with School Administration Personnel and Area Superintendents, will be compiling, reviewing and validating data for the Annual School Report as required by Judge W. Arthur Garrity.

8. CWEC ANNUAL REPORT BOOKLET - May 1976
An annual report, covering the years 1974 and 1975. Includes a history of Coalition projects, staff descriptions, and a list of C.W.E.C. publications.

9. COALITION - Monthly newspaper of school news, including letters from parents, spotlights on individual schools, program reviews, and school politics.

TABLE VII
CITWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION FIELD STAFF REPORTS
COURT-ORDERED AND SCHOOL DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATIONS BY DISTRICT, 1975-76

DISTRICT I: ALLSTON-BRIGHTON-MISSION HILL

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S Assc.* (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re RPC (11/75)	CWEC * RPC sp (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
BALDWIN						X		X	
BARRETT						X	X	X	X
FARRAGUT						X			
GARDNER						X		X	
GARFIELD					X	X		X	X
HAMILTON					X	X		X	X
LYON						X	X	X	X
MCKINLEY						X	X	X	X
MILMORE		X	X		X	X	X	X	
OAK SQUARE						X	X	X	X
STORROW						X	X	X	X
TOBIN		X			X	X		X	X
WINSHIP						X		X	X
EDISON	X				X	X		X	
EDISON ANNEX									
TAFT	X		X		X	X		X	X
BRIGHTON HIGH	X					X	X	X	X
						16	7	15	11

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT II: JAMAICA PLAIN

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S* Assc. (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC Re: RPC's (11/75)	CWEC* RPC S. (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
ABRAHAMS						X		X	
AGASSIZ				X	X	X	X	X	X
BOWDITCH						X		X	
ELLIS				X		X			
FULLER				X		X	X	X	X
GARRISON			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
HIGGINSON						X		X	
J.F.KENNEDY			X	X	X	X		X	X
LONGFELLOW			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
MANNING				X		X		X	
MENDELL						X		X	
PARKER						X	X	X	
PARKMAN						X	X	X	
SEAVER						X	X	X	X
M.E.CURLEY			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
LEWIS	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
T. ROOSEVELT				X		X		X	
JAMAICA PLAIN HIGH						X	X	X	
						18	10	17	8

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT III: ROSLINDALE-WEST ROXBURY

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S Assc. (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re. RPC (11/75)	CWEC-RPC* Sp. (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
AUDUBON			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BARRON						X	X	X	
BATES						X	X	X	
BEETHOVEN	X		X	X	X	X		X	
CANNON	X		X	X	X			X	
KILMER							X		
LEE				X	X	X	X	X	
LYNDON	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
MORRIS	X			X		X	X	X	
MOZART						X	X		
PAINE						X			
PHILBRICK	X		X	X		X	X	X	
RIPLEY	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
SUMNER						X	X	X	
TILESTON						X	X		
IRVING				X	X	X	X	X	
R.G. SHAW			X	X	X		X	X	X
LEWENBURG			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
ROSLINDALE			X	X	X	X		X	X
						16	15	15	4

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT IV: North Dorchester-Hyde Park

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCIL STATUS

SCHOOL	H&S Asc* (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re RPC (11/75)	CWEC* RPC sp (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
BRADFORD	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
BRADFORD ANNEX	X			X	X	X		X	
CHANNING	X			X	X	X			
CHITTICK	X			X	X	X			
CONLEY	X			X	X	X	X	X	
FAIRMOUNT	X			X	X			X	
E. GREENWOOD	X		X	X	X	X		X	
GREW	X		X	X		X	X	X	X
HEMENWAY	X		X	X		X			
F.D.ROOSEVELT	X		X	X		X		X	
P. SHAW	X		X	X		X		X	X
TAYLOR	X		X			X	X	X	X
ROGERS	X		X	X		X	X	X	
THOMPSON	X		X	X		X	X	X	X
HYDE PARK HIGH	X		X	X		X	X	X	
						14	6	12	5

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TABLE VII CON'T'D.

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCIL STATUS

SCHOOL	H&S Ass'n* (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re RPC (11/75)	CWEC* RPC sp (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
BROOKS	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
DICKERMAN						X			
ENDICOTT	X		X	X	X	X		X	
EVERETT	X			X	X				
FIFIELD									
S. GREENWOOD		X		X	X	X		X	
HOLLAND				X		X	X	X	
KENNY						X			
MARSHALL	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	
MATHER				X	X	X		X	
MOTLEY	X								
MURPHY		X		X	X	X		X	
O'HEARN									
RICHARDS						X		X	
ROCHAMBEAU					X	X			
STONE	X	X		X	X				
CHAMPLAIN		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
CLEVELAND	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
HOLMES		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
WILSON				X		X	X	X	X
J.E. BURKE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
DORCHESTER HIGH	X			X	X	X		X	X
						17	8	14	5

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT VI: South Boston-Columbia Point-Dorchester

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S* assc. (11/75	PTSA* 11/75	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re RPC (11/75	CWEC* RPC sp (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
BIGELOW						X			
CLAP	X			X	X	X		X	
CONDON				X	X	X	X		
DEVER			X	X	X	X		X	
EMERSON	X		X	X	X	X		X	
FENWICK	X		X	X	X	X		X	
MASON	X		X	X	X	X		X	
O'REILLY				X	X	X		X	
PERKINS				X	X	X			
PERRY				X	X				
RUSSELL	X		X	X	X	X			
TUCKERMAN				X	X	X			
TYNAN				X	X	X			
WINTHROP	X		X	X	X	X		X	
DEARBORN	X			X	X	X	X	X	
GAVIN				X	X	X		X	
MC CORMICK			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SOUTH BOSTON HIGH			X	X	X	X		X	X
L. ST. ANNEX			X	X	X	X			
						18	3	11	5

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT VII MADISON PARK: SOUTH END-CHINATOWN-NORTH END-BEACON HILL-BACKBAY

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S* assc. (11/75	PTSA* (11/75	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re PPC (11/75	CWEC* RPC sp (9/75	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
BANCROFT			X		X	X	X	X	X
BLACKSTONE ELEM.			X	X	X	X		X	X
BUNKER HILL									
CARTER						X			
ELIOT					X	X			X
HALE					X	X	X	X	X
HARVARD-KENT						X			X
HOLDEN						X	X		X
HURLEY			X	X	X	X			X
LINCOLN						X	X	X	X
PRINCE			X			X	X	X	X
QUINCY			X	X		X	X	X	
WARREN-PRESCOTT						X	X		
BLACKSTONE MIDDLE						X	X	X	X
EDWARDS						X			X
MICHELANGELO						X		X	X
TIMILTY			X	X	X	X	X	X	
CHARLESTOWN HIGH					X	X		X	
ROXBURY HIGH						X			
						18	9	10	12

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT VIII: East Boston

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S* assc. (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75)	CWEC* re RPC (11/75)	CWEC* RPC sp. (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
ADAMS	X					X	X		X
ALIGHIERI									
BRADLEY			X			X	X	X	X
CHAPMAN			X			X	X	X	X
CHEVERUS			X						X
P. KENNEDY			X			X			
LYMAN						X			
O'DONNELL	X		X			X		X	X
OTIS	X								
SHERIDAN			X			X		X	X
BARNES			X			X		X	
E.B. HIGH			X			X			
						9	3	5	6

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TABLE VII CON'T'D.

DISTRICT IX: CITYWIDE MAGNET

RACIAL-ETHNIC PARENT COUNCILS

SCHOOL	H&S* assc. (11/75)	PTSA* (11/75)	CDAC* (11/75	CWEC* RPC 11/75	CWEC* RPC sp. (9/75)	EXISTS ON PAPER	FULL COUNCIL	MEETS REGULARLY	FUNCTIONS WELL
J.M. CURLEY	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
GUILD				X		X			
HALEY	X					X	X	X	X
HENNIGAN	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
HERNANDEZ						X	X	X	
JACKSON-MANN						X	X	X	
MCKAY			X	X		X			
OHRENBERGER						X	X	X	X
TROTTER		X	X			X	X	X	X
KING			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
MACKEY			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
MANN						X	X	X	
BOSTON HIGH						X	X	X	
BOSTON LATIN						X	X	X	
BOS.LATIN ACADEMY						X	X	X	X
BOSTON TECHNICAL					X	X	X	X	X
BOSTON TRADE						X		X	
COPLEY					X	X	X	X	X
ENGLISH			X	X		X	X	X	X
TEMP.MADISON PARK			X	X		X 20	X 16	X 18	 11

TABLE VII CON'T'D.

*H&S Assc. = Home and School Association
PTSA = Parent, Teacher, Students Association
CDAC = Community District Advisory Council
CWEC re RPC = CWEC Recruited RPC's
CWEC RPC sp. = CWEC-RPC Support and Orientation

TABLE VIII
CITYWIDE EDUCATIONAL COALITION
ASSESSMENTS OF INFORMATION NEEDS OF COURT-ORDERED PARENT COUNCILS, BOSTON, MARCH 3-15, 1976.*

I. School Department information?

87 who are the key people?
83 what are their responsibilities?
82 how decisions get made.
53 how can I participate?
67 who should I call and when?
63 what are my rights?

II. Information about other bureaucracies:

86 the School Committee
61 the Federal court
55 City Hall
48 the State Government
45 the Federal Government
60 Boston social agencies
52 area universities

III. Information to stimulate parent councils:

60 identifying and recruiting new members
84 how to get maximum participation
27 the setting of agendas
31 how to chair meetings
68 how and where to secure funding for my council
38 dealing with educational jargon
22 reaching a consensus
36 documentation of actions taken
48 evaluation of progress
46 how to define my rights
50 dealing with human relations problems
38 how to effectively use volunteers
44 how to utilize paid staff

IV. "Technical" information:

72 analyzing school department budgets
74 hiring and evaluating teachers
73 hiring and evaluating administrators
73 evaluating current curriculum offerings
69 examining new curricula/programs
55 implementing new curricula/programs
67 vocational education
61 Chapter 622 (anti-discrimination law)
59 Chapter 636 (state desegregation funds)
59 Chapter 766 (special needs) (children)
46 E.S.E.A. (Elementary & Secondary Education)
48 E.S.A.A. (Emergency School Assistance Act)
56 Bilingual Education
63 Discipline codes/Student rights
54 Human relations/Group Process
54 Conflict resolution
73 Writing and/or reviewing proposals

*Source: CWEC interim report to MCCJ. From questionnaires from 118 CDAC members at local schools.

APPENDIX F

FREEDOM HOUSE

DATA

FREEDOM HOUSE INFORMATION CENTER

GOALS

SEPTEMBER, 1975

To help ensure the smooth and peaceful implementation of Phase II desegregation in Boston in the coming school year. A more long-term purpose is to provide a mechanism through which the issue of quality education, the goal of desegregation, can be continually addressed until it becomes a reality for all the children of Boston.

Objectives of the system in accordance with these purposes are:

.....To reduce the level of anger and frustration among parents and students providing them with accurate information and assistance in solving school-related problems, including problems related to school assignments, transportation plans, academic program, suspensions, etc.

.....To provide an outlet through which parents, students can express their feelings in relation to desegregation and a forum through which parents and students can express their opinions and formulate recommendations.

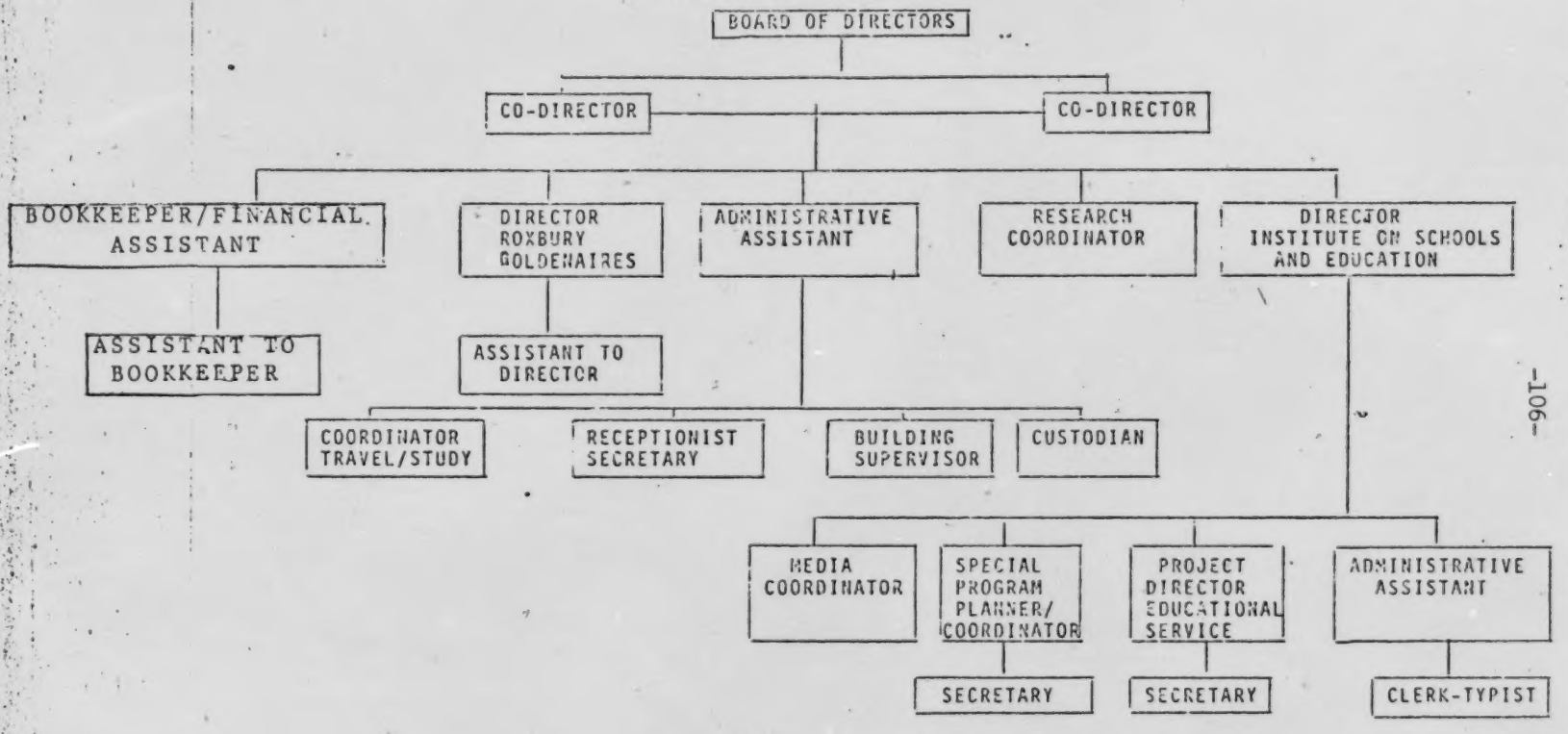
.....To provide a mechanism through which recommendations of parents, students and others in the Black Community can be brought to the attention of public officials.

.....To prevent increases in racial tension brought about by spreading of malicious rumors, through an efficient rumor-control system.

.....To provide needed support services to students, particularly counseling, referral, and/or legal assistance.

.....To discourage racial incidents and to prevent minor incidents from mushrooming into major confrontations through use of community monitors and crisis teams and a Mobile Fleet operating under the Community Protection System.

DIAGRAM VII
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
FREEDOM HOUSE, INC.
JULY, 1976



FREEDOM HOUSE
INSTITUTE ON SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION
RUMOR CONTROL AND INFORMATION CENTER
MOST FREQUENT TYPES OF CALLS, 1975-76

At the end of each day all call forms are filed according to subject and date. The following is an explanation of the most frequent types of questions asked under each category:

TEACHERS' STRIKE:

Students and parents asking whether or not schools would be open. Teachers calling to obtain BEAM's (Black Educators Alliance of Massachusetts) position.

RUMORS:

Generally from parents who had "heard" that something was happening somewhere in the city and wanted confirmation. All of these calls were immediately forwarded to the Security Room for immediate verification.

REPORTS:

Crisis Team members called in to report specifics on incidents throughout the city. Also calls with correct information or confirmation or denial of remors from key City, State and Federal officials.

PARENT MEETINGS:

Questions concerning the weekly parent meetings held at Freedom House in July, August and the first part of September.

SPECIAL EDUCATION:

Calls from parents whose children had some sort of special need which had not been adequately dealt with by the School Department. All of these calls were immediately transferred to a social worker to complete all follow-up.

ASSIGNMENT:

The bulk of these calls came from parents and students who had not received any school assignment by the time school opened on September 8, 1975.

SOCIO-LEGAL COMPONENT:

2 supervisors were present to handle all of these calls. The bulk of them came in the legal category from parents of students who had been arrested or suspended. Some calls came from legal crisis team members stationed at police stations around the city to report on arrest cases so that we could find a lawyer. Calls which seemed to represent deeper problems that the student or parent may be experiencing were given to a social worker for follow-up.

TRANSFER:

Mostly from parents or students who were unhappy with their school assignment and wanted information on the controlled transfer policy.

GENERAL INFORMATION:

Calls filed in this category did not fit into any of the other categories. Some questions asked were for telephone numbers of other agencies, some were from parents wanting the phone numbers or addresses of specific schools.

MEDIA:

All calls coming from media representatives were transferred to the Institute's Media Coordinator, Dennis Roach. These callers generally wanted reports or comments on specific incidents.

TRANSPORTATION:

The bulk of these calls came from students who did not know where their bus stop was, or from parents whose children were waiting for a late bus and wanted us to check with the School Department to find out when it

would arrive or to get a replacement. Some calls also came in from students who had missed the bus and wanted a ride to school. (For the first weeks of school the Clergy Committee stationed at Freedom House provided back-up transportation).

COMPLAINTS:

Many of these calls were not desegregation-related and had to be referred to the appropriate agency. The rest of the calls were in a general category of complaints of treatment in the classroom and unfair treatment towards Black students by the school administration.

EMPLOYMENT:

Many calls came in from people wishing to work within the school system. Jobs that were available generally were for bus monitors and transitional aides. Some calls also came in from people wishing to find full-time professional employment. Although we do not serve as an employment agency we do keep an updated job file for interested individuals to look through.

VOLUNTEERS:

A few calls came in from individuals wishing to help out at Freedom House or to serve as volunteers in the schools. As calls came in we set up appointments for training sessions if the caller was interested in working on the Rumor Control and Information Center.

TABLE VII
FREEDOM HOUSE
RUMOR CONTROL AND INFORMATION CENTER
TELEPHONE CALLS, JULY, 1975 - FEBRUARY, 1976

	TEACHERS STRIKE	RUMORS	CRISIS TEAM REPORTS	PARENT MEETINGS	SPECIAL EDUCATION	ASSIGNMENT	SOCIO-LEGAL	TRANSFER	GENERAL INFORMATION	MEDIA	TRANSPORTATION	COMPLAINTS	EMPLOYMENT	VOLUNTEERS	TOTAL
JULY	--	--	--	--	--	72	--	2	12	--	--	--	--	--	86
AUGUST	--	7	--	11	2	47	--	14	22	2	10	--	36	--	151
SEPTEMBER	22	59	97	5	2	159	31	68	96	12	168	17	53	10	799
OCTOBER	--	20	84	7	1	13	56	22	54	8	14	10	4	2	295
NOVEMBER	--	5	22	1	2	5	46	18	57	6	6	--	4	2	174
DECEMBER 19, 1975	--	5	9	--	1	1	20	5	23	2	4	2	--	2	74
JANUARY, 1976	--	6	20	10	--	17	--	22	25	3	4	--	--	--	107
FEBRUARY, 1976	--	5	4	--	--	5	7	6	50	4	5	--	1	--	87
															1,863

Source: Freedom House Interim Report to MCCJ.

TABLE VIII

FREEDOM HOUSE INFORMATION CENTER

LEGAL CASES BY JURISDICTION, SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1975

	COURT DISTRICTS						
DATE	CHARLESTOWN	SOUTH BOSTON	WEST ROXBURY	BRIGHTON	BOSTON JUVENILE COURT	OTHER	TOTALS
September	3	2	2	1	1	0	9
October	4	19	5	2	0	0	30
November	3	10	5	0	2	2	22
December	0	6	3	2	0	0	11
Totals	10	27	15	5	3	2	72

Note: Not all cases ended in court.

TABLE IX

FREEDOM HOUSE INFORMATION CENTER

LEGAL AND SOCIAL SERVICE CASES

RECEIVED THROUGH HOTLINE, SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1975

CASE

DATE	DISORDERLY CONDUCT/ DISRUPTING SCHOOL	ASSAULT/ ASSAULT & BATTERY	TRES-PASSING	OTHER	TOTAL	NO. CLOSED
September	5	4	1	0	10	2
October	21	4	1	4	30	19
November	13	7	0	4	24	7
December	2	8	0	1	11	0
Totals	41	23	2	9	75	28

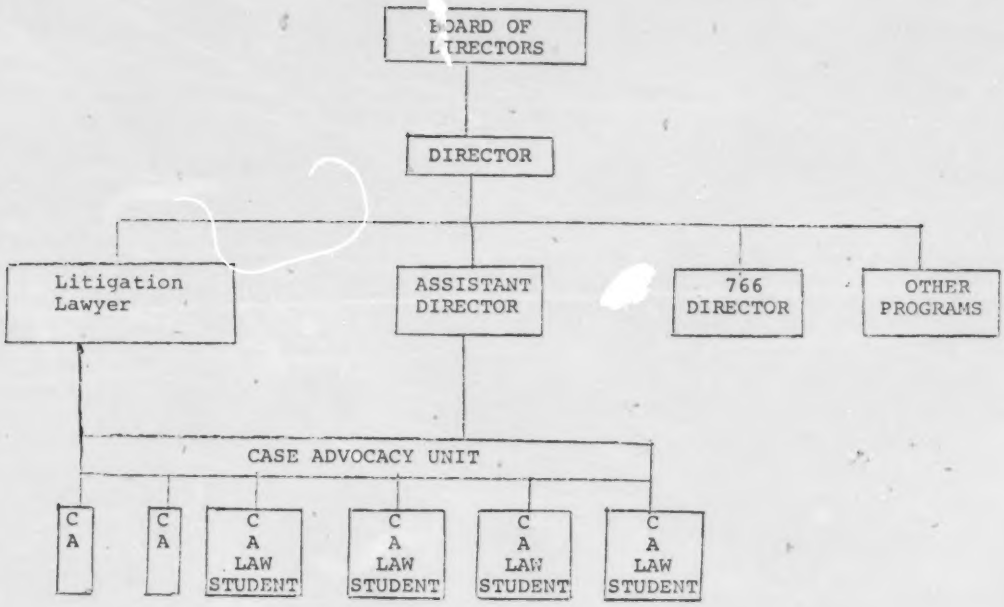
APPENDIX G

MASSACHUSETTS

ADVOCACY

DATA

DIAGRAM VIII
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER
September, 1975-June, 1976



Note: CA = Case Advocate

TABLE X

NATIONAL AND BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL SUSPENSION RATES
FOR SCHOOL YEARS 1972-73, 1973-74 AND 1974-75

School Year	High Schools Overall	Suspensions Per 100 Students In Average Daily Attendance			
		White	Black	Other[1]	Total
1972-73	Average of 2,862 School Districts Reporting to QCR[2,3]	12.9	25.3	12.4	17.1
1972-73	All Boston High Schools[2]	19.6	26.4	11.2	21.0
1973-74	All Boston High Schools[2]	25.4	39.9	13.1	28.7
1974-75	All Boston High Schools	28.5	64.6	15.2	38.9

---

1 The data shown in the "Other Minority" column should not be compared, since the relative proportions of Spanish, Asian, and American Indian students composing the totals vary from year to year, and differ between Boston and the national average.

2 Adjusted, as described later by assuming an attendance rate of 70 percent and 1.5 suspensions per student suspended at least once.

3 Secondary students, including some middle school students.

Source: U.S. District Court. District of Massachusetts. Morgan V. Kerrigan. Civil Action No. 72-911-G. Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, February 2, 1976, p.6.

TABLE XI

SUSPENSION RATES, BY RACE, FOR BOSTON'S HIGH SCHOOLS DURING THE 1974-75 SCHOOL YEAR, WITH HIGH SCHOOLS SEPARATED INTO THOSE AFFECTED BY PHASE I AND THOSE NOT AFFECTED*

School Year	High Schools, Separated Into Those Affected by Phase I and Those Not Affected	Suspensions Per 100 Students In Average Daily Attendance			
		White	Black	Other[1]	Total
1972-73	Average of 2,862 School Districts Reporting to OCR[2,3]	12.9	25.3	12.4	17.1
1974-75	Boston, High Schools Not Affected by Phase I[4]	23.1	32.0	7.7	23.3
1974-75	Boston, All High Schools	28.5	64.6	15.2	38.9
1974-75	Boston, High Schools Affected by Phase I[5]	36.4	73.7	21.1	52.2

1 The data shown in the "Other Minority" column should not be compared, since the relative proportions of Spanish, Asian, and American Indian students composing the totals vary from year to year, and differ between Boston and the national average.

2 Adjusted, as described later by assuming an attendance rate of 70 percent and 1.5 suspensions per student suspended at least once.

3 Secondary students, including some middle school students. The figures are repeated above for convenience in comparing them to the 1974-75 Boston rates.

4 The schools not affected by Phase I were Charlestown, East Boston, Copley Square, and all elective, special admissions, high schools.

5 The high schools affected by Phase I were C Street, L Street, Hart-Dean, Roxbury, Hyde Park and Annex, Dorchester, Burke, Roslindale, Brighton, Jamaica Plain, and English.

*Source: Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, 1976, p.7.

TABLE XII

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, COUNT OF SUSPENSIONS GIVEN, AND SUSPENSIONS PER 100 STUDENTS IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE DURING 1974-75 FOR BOSTON MIDDLE SCHOOLS, TOTALS*

All Boston Middle Schools, Grades 6-8	Average Daily Attendance During 1974-75, By Race				Suspensions Given During 1974-75, By Race				Suspensions Per 100 Pupils In Average Daily Attendance			
	White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Total
Middle Schools, 1974-75	5352	5290	1140	11782	1103	2451	193	3747	20.6	46.3	16.9	31.9

*Source: Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, 1976, p.43.

TABLE XIII
NUMBER OF STUDENT SUSPENSIONS, BY RACE, FOR BOSTON'S SCHOOLS, 1975-76, PHASE II[1]

Date	White	Black	Other	Total
September[2]	62	104	6	172
October	409	611	45	1,065
November	245	436	20	701
December	366	379	47	792
Subtotal	1,082	1,530	118	2,730
January 1976	367	371	38	776
February	174	331	22	527
March	328	463	54	845
April	208	333	31	644
May[3]	--	--	--	--
June	--	--	--	--
Subtotal, January through April, 1976	1,077	1,498	145	2,792
Total, September, 1975 through June, 1976	2,522	3,532	260	6,325

[1] Reported to author by Dr. James Walsh, Boston School Department.

[2] Figures include walkouts and mass suspensions. Not adjusted for average daily attendance, so are probably underrepresentations of actual problem.

[3] Breakdowns for May and June, 1976 were unavailable.

TABLE XIV

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, COUNT OF SUSPENSIONS GIVEN, AND SUSPENSIONS PER 100 STUDENTS IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE DURING THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER THROUGH NOVEMBER, 1975, DURING THE 1975-76 SCHOOL YEAR, FOR SELECTED BOSTON HIGH AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS *

Boston Schools	Average Daily Attendance Sept.-Nov., 1975, By Race				Suspensions Given Sept.-Nov., 1975, By Race				Suspensions Per 100 Pupils In Average Daily Attendance			
	White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Total
G Street	294	128	21	443	158	302	0	460	53.7	235.9	0.0	103.8
L Street	84	82	10	176	109	59	5	173	129.8	72.0	50.0	98.3
Roxbury	15	211	76	302	0	1	0	1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Burke	156	439	36	631	7	38	8	53	4.5	8.7	22.2	8.4
Dorchester	308	597	77	982	2	37	0	39	0.6	6.2	0.0	4. 0
Hyde Park	489	368	6	863	58	105	0	163	11.9	28.5	0.0	18.9
English	565	687	200	1,452	1	36	2	39	0.2	5.2	1.0	2.7
Charlestown	292	77	17	386	223	135	4	363	76.4	175.3	23.5	93.8

*Source: Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, 1976, p.46

TABLE XV

SUSPENSIONS DURING SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, AND NOVEMBER, 1975 (PHASE II)
EXCLUDING WALKOUTS AND FAILURES TO DISEMBARK FROM BUSES*

Boston Schools	Including/ Excluding Walkouts	Suspensions Given During Sept.-Nov., 1975, Phase II				Suspensions Per 100 Students In Average Daily Attendance			
		White	Black	Other	Total	White	Black	Other	Total
Charlestown	Included	223	135	4	362	76.4	175.3	23.5	93.8
	Excluded	64	50	5	118	21.9	64.9	23.5	30.6
G Street	Included	158	302	0	460	53.7	235.9	0.0	103.8
	Excluded	154	172	0	326	52.4	134.4	0.0	73.6
L Street	Included	109	59	5	173	129.8	72.0	50.0	98.3
	Excluded	27	57	4	88	32.1	69.5	40.0	50.0
Burke	Included	7	38	8	53	4.5	8.7	22.2	8.4
	Excluded	7	38	1	46	4.5	8.7	2.8	7.3
Hyde Park	Included	58	105	0	163	11.9	28.5	0.0	18.9
	Excluded	52	105	0	157	10.6	28.5	0.0	18.2

No walkouts resulting in suspensions reported at Dorchester, English or Roxbury.

*Source: Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, 1976, p.48.

TABLE XVI

COMPARISON OF SUSPENSION RATES FOR BOSTON HIGH SCHOOLS DURING 1974-75 (PHASE I) AND 1975-76 (PHASE II) FOR THE MONTHS OF SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER*

School	Period [3]	Suspensions per 100 Students In Average Daily Attendance			
		White	Black	Other	Total
Charlestown[1]	Sept.-Nov. 1975	76.4	175.3	23.5	93.8
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	20.2	66.7[2]	30.0	20.6
G Street	Sept.-Nov. 1975	53.7	235.9	0.0	103.8
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	19.8	45.0	18.2[2]	29.0
L Street	Sept.-Nov. 1975	129.8	72.0	50.0[2]	98.3
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	12.9	100.0	40.0[2]	76.9
Burke	Sept.-Nov. 1975	4.5	8.7	22.2	8.4
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	5.7	21.7	12.9	17.0
Dorchester	Sept.-Nov. 1975	0.6	6.2	0.0	4.0
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	6.6	14.8	9.7	11.2
Hyde Park	Sept.-Nov. 1975	11.9	28.5	0.0[2]	18.9
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	9.1	22.6	0.0[2]	15.0
English	Sept.-Nov. 1975	0.2	5.2	1.0	2.7
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	10.0	20.9	19.7	16.9
Roxbury	Sept.-Nov. 1975	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
	Sept.-Nov. 1974	0.0	2.9	0.0[2]	2.6

1
Charlestown was not included under Phase I in 1974-75, and was included, for the first time, under Phase II in 1975-76. It had only three black students in average daily attendance during 1974-75.

2
There are too few students in average daily attendance for these rates to be interpretable.

3
There were 53 days in the school calendar during September, October, and November of 1974. There were 56 days in the school calendar during September, October and November of 1975. For most schools, there were 172 days in the school calendar during 1974-75, and there will be about the same number in 1975-76. The number of suspensions per 100 students in average daily attendance, if the rates continue unchanged, could thus be expected to more than triple by the end of the school year. In fact, they did more than triple for the Phase I high schools during 1974-75.

*Source: Affadavit of Paul V. Smith, 1976, p.49.

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER: NARRATIVE

SEPTEMBER, 1975-JUNE, 1976

The days early in September, before the opening of the public schools, were spent training new case advocates at the Mass. Advocacy Center. During their first week or two on the job the new advocates informally read background material about the Center's activities, about student advocacy, practiced taking calls, and discussed the ethics of the jobs with Center administrators, particularly with assistant director Stephen Bing.*

The case advocates who were law students handled both 766, special education, cases and school suspension cases; whatever the problem happened to be when they answered the telephone. Some suspension cases also turned into 766 cases so it was necessary to be conversant with both issues. Discussions about 766 cases were usually held with 766 coordinator, Margaret Janey. The work-study students, who were under-graduates, and later one of the law students, concentrated on 766 cases. Another law student, case advocate, went to work in September and October updating the MAC school handbook. September was a "slow period" for the case advocates. The volume of work did not begin to increase until October and November. By October, things were going at full steam. Desegregation case lawyers were preparing briefs about South Boston High School and about discriminatory school suspensions, so when new cases were logged which seemed appropriate to those briefs, case advocates asked clients if they were willing to be interviewed for the court suits. Three or five students and parents made affadavits for those cases. A case advocate also wrote an affadavit for the brief, based on his experience as an advocate. When drafts of the new disciplinary code were

*Stephen Bing supervised the Boston Advocate Cases and MAC director, Larry Brown, supervised cases from the rest of Massachusetts.

circulated by the federal court in March, MAC advocates began to focus more on 766, special education cases. It is thought that 766 could become a new outlet for school personnel resistance to integration. (See Tables XVII and IXX for data about cases up to December 31, 1975.)

Table XVIII shows the race, sex and age breakdown for 56 cases reported by MAC from January to March 31, 1976. There were still more blacks and more males in the caseload. There was a clear shift, however, from suspension cases to 766, special education, cases. Case advocates dealt more with inappropriate referrals for special education evaluations (called "more evaluations") or inadequate, individualized, special education programs.

Out of the 133 Mass. Advocacy case records made available to the researcher, fifty were cases recorded between January 1 and May 31, 1976. Table XX shows the racial and school breakdown by month for those fifty evaluation cases. Again, there is a discrepancy between MAC's quarterly report and the number of case files examined.

The case records for the January to June period show a marked difference from the cases recorded for September through December, 1975. Two patterns emerge: the shift to a more white, suburban case load and the shift in Boston from South Boston to cases in other schools, particularly in middle and elementary schools.

Out of the 133 cases for the year examined by the researcher, 48% (65) of the cases were recorded as closed. The average duration of closed cases was 44 days. However, if the three most time consuming cases are dropped, the average duration of MAC cases drops to 27 days. Some cases required less than one day's time and were handled over the telephone. Other cases required case conferences, followups and took up to six months to resolve or terminate.

Table XXI presents information about the content of cases for 1975-76. Out of 117 case identification extracted from the records, seventy-five were considered by this researcher to be probable suspensions. Most records did not clearly categorize cases. Twenty-three

of the total number of cases were probably 766 cases. Three cases seemed to both suspensions and 766, and 16 of the cases seemed to involve other matters.

MAC cases in Table XXI are also categorized by school. South Boston High clearly emerged as a trouble spot with numerous suspension cases. Students were not only suspended there, but were suspended and arrested at the same time, making legal counsel beyond case advocacy, sometimes necessary. L Street Annex High School, and Edison Middle School, emerged as other schools in which suspensions were a primary cause for seeking help from the Mass. Advocacy Center. High schools and middle schools appear to be the focus of the suspension, or push out problem.

Special education cases from middle schools became numerous, but 766 classification problems emerged as chiefly an elementary school matter within the city. 766 and other school problems were the main reason for suburban client approaches to MAC.

The final table, TABLE XXII presents information about the ages and sexes of MAC clients from September 1975 through May 1976. Out of 122 such identifications, MAC served students from 4 to age 20. The majority of cases were in the 13 to 17 age range, i.e., high schoolers. The average age for both sexes, was 15. There were thirty-eight females, eighty-three males, and one unidentified client among these case records.

Of the total number of cases, seventy-three students were identified as having been bussed.

WHAT A CASE ADVOCATE DOES

From Interviews with Case Advocates

-Takes phone calls, records information about clients and their cases.

-Researches regulations pertaining to 766 or suspensions.

-Discusses cases with other staff members.

-Makes the phone calls to school administrators; back to parents.

-Makes appointments/conferences with parents, students, administrators at the Massachusetts Advocacy Center or at school.

-One advocate who worked 35 hours a week from September-May, estimated she had ± 50 cases during the year, 35 of them were estimated as closed. (This estimate is over the number of cases estimated from evaluation case records.)

-Closing a case is problematical, a matter of judgement if a client does not return calls or seems satisfied.

-Suspension cases are short term, 766 cases are long term cases.

TABLE XVII

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

CASELOAD BY SEX, RACE, AND CONTENT, AS REPORTED BY MAC,

September 1, 1975-December 31, 1975

Case Content	Race		Sex		
	Black	White	Male	Female	Unknown
Suspensions only	62	1			
Special Education only	15	4			
Suspension & Special Education	8	0			
Miscellaneous	6	0			
SUB TOTALS	91	5	66	25	5
TOTALS	96		96		

TABLE XVIII

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

CASELOAD BY SEX, RACE, AND CONTENT AS REPORTED BY MAC,

January 1 - March 31, 1976

	766	Suspension	Records	Other	Total
Male	20	10	1	4	35
Female	8	4	1	8	21
Total	28	14	2	12	56
Spanish		2		3	5
Black	15	12	1	7	35
White	13		1	2	16
Total	28	14	2	12	56
Age					
5	3				3
6	1				1
7	3				3
8	1				1
9	1	1		2	4
10	5			1	6
11	3	1		1	5
12	3	1		2	6
13	2	1	1		4
14	3	2		2	7
15	2	2	1	2	7
16	1	2		1	4
17		4			4
18				1	1
19					
Total	28	14	2	12	56

TABLE IXX

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

EVALUATION CASES UP TO DECEMBER 31, 1975

	Black		White		Hispanic		Unidentified	
Date	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Before September 1975	Lee Lewis Lewis Logue Stone	Manning	Barnes Holmes Jefferson	Highland	_____	_____	Tynan	_____
September	Edison Edison Edison Edison Roslindale Roslindale	_____	Baldwin	_____	Charlestown	_____	L Street Prince No school	_____
October	Eliot L Street Jamaica Pl. SSSSS SSSSS SSSSS	L Street Roslindale SSSSS**	_____	Bigelow	_____	_____	Rogers M.S.* S	_____
November	Charlestown Boston L Street L Street Hyde Park Ohrenberger SSSSS	J.P.*** Kenny Perry SSSSS SS	Middle School	_____	Blackstone	_____	_____	S
December	_____	SS	_____	_____	_____	_____	Charlestown	S
Totals	40	20	5	2	2	0	7	2
	60		7		2		9	7

*Rogers Middle School
**S = South Boston High School
***J.P. = Jamaica Plain

TABLE XX

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

EVALUATION CASES, JANUARY 1, 1976-MAY 31, 1976

Date	Black		White		Hispanic		Unidentified	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
January	Edison M.S.	Edison M.S. Michanad Tolan Roslindale H.S.	Cap Sch. Condon St.Williams S. Weymouth S.Weymouth Taylor Wellesley Jr.H.S. Westfield	S.Weymouth	___	_____	Shaw	_____
February	Burke H.S. Blair E. Edison M.S. Madison Pk. H.S. Shaw M.S. Thompson M.S.	Perry E. S Hs.* Wilson E.	Amesbury Westfield	Dorchester Day Care Nashoba Nashoba W. Weymouth Westfield	___	_____	_____	_____
March	Central Mozart E. Roslindale H.S.	Hamilton E.	Bates Billerica Chapel Hill Stoneham No School	Hyde Pk. High	Garfield	Garfield	St.Gregory	Roxbury H.S.
April	_____	_____	Callahan Drone	Danvers	_____	_____	Hennigan E.	_____
May	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Jackson-Mann	Longfellow E.
No Date	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Copley H.S.	_____
Totals	10	7	17	8	1	1	4	2
	17		25		2		6	

*S = South Boston High School

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TABLE XXI
MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

EVALUATION CASES, 1975-76

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
South Boston High School	.suspension, arrest, disorderly conduct, reinstated, suspended, dropped out			
	.suspension revised			
	.5 day suspension			
	.assaulted by white			
	.fight with white girl, suspension, dropped out			
	.arrested, suspension			
	.fighting, reinstated			
	.arrest, suspension			
	.fighting, suspension lifted after conference			
	.fighting, suspension, arrest			
	.fighting, suspension, arrest			
	.fighting, reinstated			
	.fighting			

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL	.transfer			
	.fighting, suspended, revoked, resuspended			
	.actions on school bus			
	.suspension, arrest, transfer, court case continued			
	.5 day suspension, transfer requested			
	.attacked, fighting, case conference, re-instated, transferred, court action			
	.attacked, fight, suspension, student did not call back			
	.fight over Afro pick, 3 day suspension			
	.attacked by whites, 5 day suspension, hearing interrupted court case continued			
	.suspension, arrest			
	.refused to go to class, reinstated			
	.fighting, suspension shortened, reinstated			

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL	.refused to wear gym shorts, suspension revoked after conference and letter from minister			
	.attacked by white in hall, suspended for resisting			
	.fighting, 3 day suspension, reinstated after case conference, pending hearing with District Superintendent			
	.Black student assaulted by white student			
	.fight, assault, suspension, arrest			
	.fighting			
	.fighting, suspension, arrest			
	.altercation, words exchanged, suspension, arrest			
	.trying to break up fight, suspension, arrest			
	.fighting, assault and battery, suspension, reinstated, refused to attend school, requesting transfer			

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
SOUTH BOSTON HIGH SCHOOL	.disturbing public assembly			
	.suspension, arrest, court action			
	.fighting, suspension, arrest			
	.fighting			
L STREET ANNEX HIGH (South Boston)				.not stated
	.disruption, readmitted after hearing			"
	.disorderly conduct, suspension, reinstated			
ROSLINDALE HIGH SCHOOL	.harassment, disruption, threatened with expulsion			
	.swearing at aide in girl's room, conference, reinstated			
	.suspended, assault and battery, fighting, no client response			
	.suspension, lost contact with client			
	.suspended nine times previously, fighting			

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
OTHER BOSTON HIGH SCHOOLS (continued)	.threatened aide, suspension, appeal, in school working out extra program			
	.truancy			
EDISON MIDDLE SCHOOL	.assault, court action			
	.fighting			
	.fight in cafeteria			
	.running in halls, talking back, 3 previous suspensions, reinstated			
	.kicked white student, reinstated			
	.fighting, recommended seeking psych counselling		.suspension, arrest, 766, arson	
OTHER BOSTON MIDDLE SCHOOLS Barnes Jackson-Mann (special education) Lewis Rogers Middle	.discipline .harassment by teacher, accusations dropped, pupil will graduate			

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
CHARLESTOWN HIGH SCHOOL	.suspension, arrest, black student sit-in, student shoved aide .disrupting class, repeated suspensions			.inadequate educational program needs transfer for bilingual program
OTHER BOSTON HIGH SCHOOLS Burke Copley Hyde Park Jamaica Plain Madison Park Roxbury	.swearing, refusal to cooperate, charges dropped, reinstated after case conference .loss of student records, records found .assault off school grounds, reinstated .repeated questionable suspensions, suspicious of MAC, case dropped .suspension, arrest for fight after school, re-admitted after 5 day suspension .late for class, 3 day suspension, school transfer after case conference			"

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
BOSTON MIDDLE SCHOOLS (continued)	.suspended for fighting			
	.fight, reinstated after 3 days			
	.assault, suspended			
		.not placed in a 766 program		
		.lack of student progress, special placement		
		.learning deficiency detected, inadequate education program		
		.reevaluation, currently in regular class		
			.suspended, suspected molesting (breast touch), referral	
			.3 day suspension, inadequate education program 766 referral	

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
BOSTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	.refusal to get off bus, reinstated, charges dropped, transfer pending			
Baldwin				
Bates				
Bigelow				
Callahan				
Condon	.not suspended, hearing, went back to school			
Garfield				
Hamilton				
Hennigan				
Jefferson	.suspended for fighting, reinstated			
Kenny				
Logue				
Longfellow				
Manning		.promoted, inadequate education program, requests transfer		
Mozart				
Ohrenberger				
Perry				
Prince				
Stone		.inadequate educational program		
Taylor				
Tynan		.766 plan unacceptable, parent never called back		
		.reexamination advanced child		
		.not placed at a school		
		.student passed though he is learning nothing		

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TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
BOSTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS		.needed intensive help, presently enrolled in special Title I program .inadequate educational program .766, requests transfer .school placement pending, not in school .school placement pending, not in school .766 follow up		.needs transfer .asked for transfer .presently in school .transportation, student given MBTA pass .student slapped by school administrator, referred to local court

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
BOSTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (continued)				.no transportation .transfer .assault and battery by bus monitor .inadequate bilingual programs, request transfer
SCHOOLS OUTSIDE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM				
Amesbury High				
Billerica	.expelled, truancy			
Central Jr. High				
Chapel Hill	.expelled, no due process			
Danvers				
Drone				
Highland	.truancy			
Muhammed Univ. of Islam #11	.truancy			
Nashoba				
St. Gregory				
St. Williams Dorchester	.student expelled, no reinstatement, parents request case dropped			
South Weymouth				
Stoneham High				
Wellesley Jr. High		.766 referral		
Westfield		.766 needs core meeting		

TABLE XXI (continued)

SCHOOL	PROBABLY SUSPENDED	PROBABLY 766	BOTH	OTHER
SCHOOLS OUTSIDE BOSTON (continued)		.disagreement with education plan. Behavorial problems, 766 suggested by school, referred to Metco, closed School refused to pay for 766 tests .766 referral, skipping class, insubordination .referred to Childrens Defense Fund for SAC appeal possible loss of credit due to absence, no credit loss .flunked without reason, flunk justified .possible exclusion from school referred elsewhere .credits for graduation, previous case resolved .transfer		

TABLE XXII

MASSACHUSETTS ADVOCACY CENTER

EVALUATION CASES BY AGE AND SEX,

1975-1976

AGE	SEX
4	F
5	M
6	M M M M M F
7	M M M M F F
8	M F F F
9	M M F
10	M M M M M F F
11	M M M M F
12	M M M
13	M M M M M M F F
14	M M M M M M M M M F
15	M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M F F F F F F
16	M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M M F F F F
17	M M M M M M M M F F F F F F F F F F F
18	M M F F F
19	M
20	M